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CARIBBEAN DANCE: "RESISTANCE," COLONIAL DISCOURSE, AND SUBJUGATED KNOWLEDGES

STUDYING CARIBBEAN DANCE

The comparative study of African and New World Negro dances presents far more difficulties than does the study of music. For not only are the available data on the dance found in scattered literary descriptions of various occasions on which persons, usually untrained in the study of dance, witnessed ceremonies of one kind or another, but no method has yet been evolved to permit objective study of the dance. What we are reduced to, therefore, are statements indicative of the opinions of those who have witnessed Negro dancing in the New World and have found certain qualities of it that they feel resemble the African background more or less closely (Herskovits 1941: 269).

When Melville Herskovits wrote the above words, the serious study of African-American cultures was just beginning to open a place for itself in the academy. Three years before *The myth of the Negro past* (from which the above quotation is taken) was published, Zora Neale Hurston's *Tell my horse* appeared (1938), following quickly upon the publication of her *Mules and men* (1935). Both these works contained a great deal about African-American dance. Although Herskovits cites *Mules and men* as containing useful insights into African-American dance (1941: 271), he provides no further discussion of Hurston's work. One of the purposes of this paper is to try to understand why this could be.

This review of the literature on African-American dance in the Caribbean¹ focuses on three specific problems. The first concerns the production of a canonized body of knowledge on dance in anthropology. The second has to do with the ways in which this canon has dealt with dance in general, and dance

in the Caribbean in particular. Overarching these concerns is a third, broader set of issues surrounding the ways anthropology creates its objects of study.

The first section deals with the establishment of a canon of theory on dance in the discipline of anthropology, and the exclusion of work by African-American women dancers/anthropologists from that canon. I wish to set the record straight, as it were, on the often neglected or underrated contributions of these African-American women scholars/dancers to the field of "dance anthropology," and to underline their importance in studies of Caribbean dance. The neglect of these writers is traced to the deeper problems in the processes through which anthropology defines its claims to knowledge about peoples and cultures of the world. These processes contribute importantly not only to the exclusion of African-American women dancers and writers from the canon of dance anthropology, but also to the ways dance in the Caribbean is treated in the anthropological literature.

Despite the separate advances made by African-American studies and the anthropological study of dance in the twentieth century, the two fields have not produced any critical confluence, and the study of African-American dance remains much the same as Herskovits found it in the 1940s. My review of the literature on Caribbean dance will demonstrate that the same problems Herskovits noted have led to two or three overlapping approaches. But none of the approaches does much to escape these problems, and they may in fact contribute to increased analytical confusion over the origins, transformations and functions of African-American dance in the Americas as a whole.

The second section examines the works of authors who view Caribbean dance in terms of political resistance to, coercion by, or complicity with some dominant force or hegemonic narrative. I argue that the resistance/complicity and coercion/consent dichotomies are inadequate for the analysis of dance in the Caribbean because of their predication upon western bourgeois liberal constructions of an individuated subject - constructions which may not obtain in the Caribbean and which certainly remain to be demonstrated before they are assumed in any particular case.

The third section considers texts that either directly or indirectly reinscribe a colonial discourse on "African-ness" in their analyses of Caribbean dance, often with reference to a particular stereotype of "the African body," and often by evoking a sense of nostalgia for lost imperial "splendor." I argue that studies of Caribbean dance that fall into either the resistance/complicity or colonial discourse frameworks are rooted in one dominant western discourse wherein things "African" are conflated with things "exotic" or "other." This exoticism is predicated on racist, sexist and heterosexist assumptions and ultimately reinforces relations of power and domination along the lines of gender, race, sexuality, and location in the "first" versus the "third" world.

The fourth section deals with those Caribbean dancers and scholars who attempt to challenge that dominant discourse by means of radically revised historiographies. Here, I return to a reconsideration of the invention of a canon in the anthropology of dance, questioning whether the anthropological study of Caribbean dance can proceed in the context of Eurocentric discourse without subverting the counterhegemonic revisions of Caribbean dancers and dance scholars. And I conclude with a brief review of the writers on Caribbean dance who best provide an account of these counterhegemonic moves without subsuming them under the "hegemonic history" of anthropological discourse (Mohanty 1987: 38).

CONSTRUCTING CANONS IN DANCE ANTHROPOLOGY

Hurston's early work on African-American dance aside (for reasons which will become apparent later), the "official" anthropological study of dance got underway a good twenty years after Herskovits's *The myth of the Negro past* was published, with Gertrude Kurath's germinal essay on "dance ethnology" (1960). Kurath challenged dance scholars to question their aesthetic biases and leveled strong criticisms against those who, like Curt Sachs (1933), unproblematically grounded their histories and ethnologies of dance in racist and ethnocentric stereotypes of non-European dances and peoples. Kurath's important contribution to the anthropology of dance was to recognize that the traditional dichotomies and trichotomies with which dance scholars had framed their debates - "ethnic" dance versus "art" dance, "folkdance" versus "dance," "traditional," "secular," and "religious" dance, etc. - were part and parcel of a mode of thinking in which art is clearly delineated from life, "everyday" practice from "aesthetic" performance.

As Kurath wrote succinctly, these problems are avoided once both dance and the scholarship on dance are placed within their own social and historical contexts, and problematized as such. Anthropology, therefore, is of singular importance in this corrective to previous research on dance:

Any dichotomy between ethnic dance and art dance dissolves if one regards dance ethnology, not as a description or reproduction of a particular kind of dance, but as an approach toward, and a method of, eliciting the place of dance in human life - in a word, as a branch of anthropology (Kurath 1960: 250).

Much in the same way that Herskovits figured in the development of the field of African-American cultural studies, Kurath spurred on an entire subdiscipline of anthropology. Her insights led other dance researchers to study ballet as a

form of dance peculiar to western culture and not easily decontextualized from it, rather than the "universal" dance language its proponents had claimed it to be (Kealiinohomoku 1983); to search for deep structures of dance across cultures as part of a structuralist semiotic project (Hanna 1979a, 1979b); to contextualize all aspects of dance and movement in terms of culturally specific systems of aesthetics (Kaeppler 1978); and, more generally, to integrate various bodies of anthropological theory in the study of dance cross-culturally (Kealiinohomoku 1972, 1974, 1979; Royce 1977; Spencer 1985).²

What is striking about the work of Kurath and her followers is the lack of acknowledgement given to earlier anthropologists who implicitly and explicitly put forth the idea on which Kurath's work is founded: that dance can not be decontextualized from the culture of which it is a part, and that categorization of dance as "ethnic," "folk," or "art" - what Sally Price (1989: 49) has called "the standard vocabulary of primitivism and savagery" - only makes sense within ethnocentric modes of thinking. Such was the position of Pearl Primus, for example, who wrote, in 1946, that "primitive dance is a misnomer. There is nothing primitive about it" (Primus 1946: 15). Similarly, Katherine Dunham - a student of Herskovits whose work on dance in the Caribbean is only briefly mentioned by him (1941: 270) - demonstrated in her master's thesis the value of an anthropological approach to dance (Dunham 1936 [1983]). Yet Dunham and Primus do not appear in Kurath's bibliography, and their contributions have gone unrecognized by dance anthropologists following Kurath.³

Joyce Aschenbrenner's monograph (1981) on the work of Katherine Dunham is highly suggestive as to why Dunham has been excluded from Kurath's canon. In addition, Aschenbrenner's book indirectly helps explain the similar exclusion of Hurston and Primus, and raises serious questions about the discipline of anthropology as a whole. In her book, Aschenbrenner discusses the social and political contexts within which Dunham's dancing career was established, focusing on the response of dance critics to Dunham as indicative of pervasive racist social conditions. What I want to suggest here is that the critical response to Dunham's *dancing* helps explain the "critical response" - one of exclusion - to her *scholarship*.

Before its 1944 performance in Boston, a portion of Dunham's choreographic production entitled *Tropical Revue* was censored for its "immorality" and "sexual explicitness" (Aschenbrenner 1981: 12, 18). Aschenbrenner attributes the censoring to a reaction against the possibility that sexuality might be redefined in ways threatening to the "protestant ethic: [...] what was involved here was not merely a harmless, uninhibited display, but a disciplined approach to a whole new way of viewing the natural and social order, and [the censors'] social categories, as well as that of their cultural leadership, were threatened" (1981: 19).

That Dunham's work confounded notions of "propriety" and "nature" is evident in the critical reception of her dancing throughout her career.⁴ While I will not reproduce Aschenbrenner's analysis here, I wish to highlight certain aspects of it which potentially relate to the reception of Dunham's scholarly work.

Aschenbrenner points out that one of the obstacles facing Dunham's work was the general perception that "black Americans were assumed to be 'natural' performers requiring little or no training" (1981: 34). The link between African Americans and "nature" led to assessments of the cultural production of Dunham and others as somehow rooted in "natural," "primitive" forces. One critic described Dunham's work as "the essence of mysterious, primitive humanity" (*Chicago Daily Tribune*, 1937, quoted by Aschenbrenner 1981: 43). This "primitive essence" inheres in the African-American body: the performers in Dunham's 1945 *Carib song* "sing and dance with that air of cheerful improvisation that only Negroes can command" (Gibbs 1945: 48, cited by Aschenbrenner 1981: 43).

These kinds of statements on Dunham's dancing figured importantly in assessments of her scholarly endeavors. Aschenbrenner (1981: 53) lists a number of review articles on Dunham's repertoire which underscore the racist assumptions that served to limit the reception of her work: "Partly primitive" (Davis and Cleveland 1941); "Dunham: anthropologist versus vivid theatre personality" (Martin 1940); "Cool scientist or sultry performer?" (Pierre 1947); "Shocking authenticity?" (Kastendieck 1963); "The schoolmarm who glorified leg art" (*Ebony* 1947); "Torridity to anthropology" (*Newsweek* 1941). Aschenbrenner comments: "these seemingly schizoid responses reflected an inability to reconcile elements that appeared to be opposites in [the critics'] worldview." Indeed, the irreconcilability of Dunham's work as both dancer and scholar, I propose, led in part to her exclusion from the canon formed by Kurath.

Dunham's position as a woman, an African-American dancer, and an anthropologist presented further irreconcilable problems for the discipline of anthropology. One of the review titles cited above sums up these problems: "shocking authenticity?" Indeed, Dunham (and Primus and Hurston) confound anthropological notions of "authenticity" by challenging anthropological claims to represent culture from the "native's" point of view (Geertz 1983). A serious problem arises for anthropological attempts at finding an "emic" position from which to speak with authority on "authentic" culture when the "native" her/himself speaks.

At stake in anthropological definitions of "authenticity" and the "native" are claims to objectivity as well as vested interests of power and authorship (Clifford 1983). So long as the native is silent, the anthropologist can "unproblematically" fix the native in time and space, "incarcerating" her/him and

maintaining that silence (Appadurai 1988). Once the native speaks, the anthropological discourse "pronounced above the native's head" is disrupted (Trinh 1989: 57-8). To maintain its integrity, anthropological discourse buries these interventions by denying their existence or importance.

Michel Foucault terms such buried interventions "subjugated knowledges," "blocs of historical knowledge which were present but disguised within the body of functionalist and systematising theory" (1980: 81-2). The concept is useful to understand how African-American dancers/scholars who speak about African-American cultural expressions are silenced within the discipline. They are constructed as biased participants. Their work is subsumed under the positions of "cool scientist" or "sultry performer," for example. To occupy both poles of this dichotomy is to be delegitimized out of existence, and thus relegated to a position unworthy of serious consideration by the academy.

Meanwhile, the literature on dance in the Caribbean has been remarkably untouched by the theoretical formulations and nuances of *either* Dunham, Hurston, and Primus *or* Kurath's group of "dance anthropologists." This is unfortunate, if only because the diverse theoretical directions in which the anthropological study of dance has gone could push writers on Caribbean dance down alleyways not previously explored, suggesting ways out of the rigidly dichotomized formulations within which they have worked thus far.

CARIBBEAN DANCE AND POLITICAL "RESISTANCE" ⁵

Raphael's (1981) study of Samba schools provides a good example of an approach to dance which focuses on the socio-political structures of domination in which dance education figures prominently. She demonstrates how the interests of the Brazilian state and the white middle class are furthered in the institutional and ideological integration of the Samba schools with elite-defined notions of "popular culture." A potentially politicized, community-oriented "Black culture" is thus conflated with a depoliticized, elite-serving "popular culture," watering down any political effect the Samba schools could have in developing Black cultural consciousness.

In contrast, Cohen (1980) provides a description of a dance event among Trinidadian immigrants in England where preparations for Carnival, including dance rehearsals, provide a base for mobilization and political organization. They also are founded upon an idiom of protest against the repressive white majority. Carnival dance provides spaces in which to resist *politically* the racist hegemony of England in the 1980s.

Yet Cohen only vaguely discusses how cultural or aesthetic aspects of the dances may or may not figure in this ritual of boundary display. In much the

same way, Raphael pays little attention to the cultural transmission occurring *within* the schools, the forms this transmission takes, or the content of this transmission. Rather, the Samba schools' location in a network of racial, class and political hierarchies are what interest her. What this amounts to is a neglect of dance itself as a meaningful subject for analysis.

Other scholars emphasize the political roles of Caribbean dance to the exclusion of aesthetics or aesthetic politics. McDaniel's (1986) analysis of the Big Drum dance on Carriacou, unlike Cohen's and Raphael's works, contains detailed information on the form and content of the Big Drum dance. Yet, like Cohen and Raphael, she locates the importance of the dance in the political function it fulfills. She describes the dance as invoking an historical consciousness. This connects the life trajectories of present-day Carriacou residents to a sense of historical community, and thereby maintains cultural identity even in the face of the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

McDaniel gives us little sense, however, of how the dance itself, as a *dance*, does this: her detailed description of the dance event seems to have little relation to her political analysis of the event. The only exception is her analysis of Big Drum song. But here, song is presented as relatively unrelated to dance, as dance is presented as unrelated to political efficacy. Macdonald's (1978) analysis of the Big Drum dance similarly places the event in the context of its role as a symbol of national pride and in "fostering Caribbean nationalism" (Macdonald 1978: 576). Pearse (1978) takes the same approach to the study of Caribbean dance as a whole in historical perspective, arguing that dance has served "to defend and preserve areas of interstitial liberty and to preserve certain elements of the African culture" (Pearse 1978: 630).

There are other examples of studies of Caribbean dance in terms of political resistance, coercion or complicity. In places, both Dobbin's (1986) and Spitzer's (1986) analyses (of the *jombée* dance of Montserrat and *zydeco* in Louisiana, respectively) come close to dislocating the political aspects of the dances from the dances themselves. Guilbault (1985) presents a related analysis of *kwadril* on St. Lucia. She maintains that the transformation of a European *quadrille* into St. Lucian *kwadril* represents a victory of European notions of "order" over other (presumably African) modes of thought. The adoption of *kwadril* by St. Lucian blacks is seen as a means of social promotion which buys into colonial notions of status and organization imposed from above (Guilbault 1985: 33-5; Morrissey 1989: 148 provides a similar analysis).

In this context, Guilbault's analysis is particularly interesting in that her interpretation of *kwadril* is based on a close reading of the dance form itself. She links ideological suppression of "African" modes of thought directly to socio-political mobility and to the movements of the *kwadril* dance in a kind of aesthetic structuralism. Guilbault's conclusions are similar to those drawn by

Raphael: dance acts as a coercive force for maintaining hegemony. This is in contrast to Cohen's and McDaniel's work, for example, where dance is a form of political resistance. While in all of the texts discussed thus far, the contextualization of Caribbean dances in political realities is an important step in furthering the study of Caribbean dance, the resistance/complicity and coercion/consent dichotomies operative in these works raise a whole set of problematic issues.

As many postcolonial scholars have recently pointed out, ideas of resistance and complicity or consent and coercion are intimately bound to emancipatory narratives. And the notion of emancipation, writes Chakrabarty (1989: 225), "though universal in its claim, arises from a body of thought whose immediate background ... is the Enlightenment and its pursuit of 'liberty' and 'freedom.' " Others, not limited to Chakrabarty, have engaged a critique of this and other Enlightenment master narratives to show that, not only are the assumptions of the Enlightenment not necessarily or unproblematically transportable to the non-western world, but they preclude the existence of subjectivity and agency both within and beyond the west (Spivak 1988, Amin 1989). Constructing the subject of emancipatory narrative as either complicitous, accomodating victim or resistive heroine/hero defines the subject of narrative as neither subject nor object, but as the *ground* of debate, the place where the debate on resistance and complicity is inscribed (Mani 1989: 117-8). As Chakrabarty explains for the case of Indian labor history:

Both propositions share one assumption: that workers all over the world, irrespective of their specific cultural pasts, *experience* "capitalist production" in the same way. Since there cannot be any "experience" without a "subject" defining it as such, the propositions end up conferring on working classes in all historical situations a (potentially) uniform, homogenized, extrahistorical subjectivity [Chakrabarty 1989: 223].

In the case of the Caribbean, Mintz and Price have shown the futility of understanding slave actions on a "unilineal gradient from 'accomodation' to 'resistance' to slavery" (Price 1973: 25). "As Mintz reminds us, 'the house slave who poisoned her master's family by putting ground glass in the food had first to become the family cook... and the slaves who plotted armed revolts in the marketplaces had first to produce for the market, and to gain permission to carry their produce there' " (Price 1973: 25, quoting Mintz 1971: 321). The resistance model creates an overly uniform system of agency and struggle, and does not account for the complex negotiations and strategized moves, some of which are necessarily "complicitous" with dominant structures, through which African slaves in the Caribbean, colonized and present day Caribbean peoples, and colonized peoples all over the world have carried out their lives (Price 1990).

The only "true" resistance allowed in this model is complete removal from the systems in which one is always-already complicit. This transcendence is possible, in a romantic sense, only in death; but as Mani (1989) shows, even in the process of *becoming* dead one is always discursively implicated in systems of power and domination.

The approach to Caribbean dance that sees dance in terms of resistance or coercion/complicity thus rests on two problematic assumptions. The first is that dance can be adequately examined in terms of what it *does*, politically; its effect on or role in the surrounding political context is of primary importance in its analysis. Other aspects of dance - its actual form and content, its origins, invention and transformation - are inconsequential to this mode of analysis. The second assumption is that dance can be viewed in terms of dichotomies between complicity and resistance or coercion and consent. These notions are inadequate to explain the slave, colonial or postcolonial situation, and their rootedness in dominant western modes of thinking makes it imperative to question their appropriateness for anthropological investigations.

CARIBBEAN DANCE, THE BODY, AND IMPERIAL NOSTALGIA

A different, but no less problematic, perspective is offered by another group of texts on Caribbean dance, some of which are not at all "scholarly" in the traditional sense. These analyses evoke romantic images of a Caribbean present virtually unchanged from a constructed colonial past. Many of these texts emphasize the supposedly languid, sensual dynamism of Caribbean dance and closely connect that dynamism to a sense of nostalgia for a bygone imperial splendor which never really existed (Rosaldo 1989). Often in these works, the search for "Africanisms" is carried out uncritically, tautologically relying on nostalgic, colonial notions of "African-ness." Some of these texts tie this sense of nostalgia to a particular construction of the body as erotic.

V.Y. Mudimbe's (1988) critical study of "Africanism" as a scholarly discipline and system of thought is useful in highlighting aspects of the colonial notions of "African-ness" found in texts on Caribbean dance. Mudimbe analyzes western scholarly constructions of "Africans' indolence, their unbridled passions, and their cruelty or mental retardation" (Mudimbe 1988: 13), African art as "primitive, simple, childish and nonsensical" (1988: 10), and African systems of thought as necessarily derived from European knowledges (1988: 13-5) to demonstrate how these constructions segue into justifications of colonial expansion and exploitation. What these "ethnocentric epistemologies" do is to propose

... an ideological explanation for forcing Africans into a new historical dimension. They speak about neither Africa nor Africans, but rather justify the process of inventing and conquering a continent and naming its "primitiveness" or "disorder," as well as the subsequent means of its exploitation and methods for its "regeneration" (Mudimbe 1988: 20).

Their real significance is in reifying ideological constructs of "otherness," constructs dependent upon both Eurocentric discourse and colonial expropriation of African resources, minds and bodies (Mudimbe 1988: 8-9, 20, 191-2). Much of the literature I review below is founded upon such epistemological constructions of "African-ness."⁶

One author, for example, attempting to *refute* the idea that Caribbean dance is, by definition, lascivious, does so by asserting that "the hard-living West Indian Negro and his voluptuous, free-loving, rum-drinking, hip-swinging, bosom-bouncing, shoulder-shaking, stomach-rolling creole woman, with rhythm in her thighs, are almost wholly responsible" for fostering these misconceptions (Leaf 1948: 6). According to this author, Caribbean dance isn't inherently sexual; rather, the Caribbean *woman* is, by virtue of her African "blood," and her peculiar kind of female body.

In his notes on dance, J. Antonio Jarvis, writing in the 1940s, refers to a "suggestive, sensual piece with all the abandon of an erotic fury" he once observed, in which "on the man's face was a dream-like mask of some forbidden enjoyment. The woman was impassive and calm, save for her lips. Her loose breasts bounced when she dipped her body" (Jarvis 1944, quoted by Leaf 1948: 145-6). In Jarvis's writing, sexual-eroticism inheres in women's bodies: the man's pleasures from the "buxom lass" and her "loose breasts" are manifest in his sublime countenance. Men are thus constructed as having the spirit to appreciate (or be intoxicated by) women, who appear solely as body.⁷ Dance drops out of the picture, although it is in the discourse *on* dance where these gendered constructions become inscribed in the body.

Lisa Lekis's work on Caribbean dance, while not so blatantly sexist as Leaf's and Jarvis's, nonetheless relies unproblematically on colonial constructions of the African body and African dance. In attempting to explain why Spanish dances "combined" more completely with African forms than did northern European dances (and thus neglecting the instances where northern European dances were adopted by African Americans), Lekis falls into a romanticism of "the improvised dance forms of the Negro" and the "verve and spontaneity" of Spanish dance (Lekis 1956: 33). Her later work (Lekis 1960: 41, 57, 187) similarly makes assumptions about "African" dance based on her observations of African-American dance: African derivation is assumed rather than demonstrated, and the "African" traits that are claimed to exist in African-

American dances come a little too close to colonial constructions of "the African" as naturally athletic, erotic, or in some other way physically "strange."

All of these works echo colonial writings on slave dance in the Caribbean. Colonial observers note the "severe exercises [the slaves] undergo in their violent and athletic dances," dances "so far from being Acts of Adoration of God, that they are for the most part mixt with a great deal of Bawdry and Lewdness," made up of "strange and indecent attitudes".⁸ The slaves's dances are "droll indeed; they put themselves into strange postures and shake their hips and great breasts to such a degree that it is impossible to refrain from laughing," the dances are a "display of unseemly gestures," of "lascivious attitudes."⁹

Some colonial observations of African and African slave dance are less blatantly implicated in racist notions of "African-ness;" yet they, too, rest on epistemological foundations built on notions of "natural" racial characteristics. Richard Jobson, writing on dances he observed in the Gambia River region in the 1620s, writes of Africans: "there is without doubt no people on earth more naturally affected to the sound of musicke than these people" (quoted in Southern 1983b: 1). The conception of Africans' musical ability as "natural" is one extant today, and the various meanings attached to the category of the "natural" in this context continue to remain problematic for persons engaged in struggles against racism, sexism and heterosexism.

John Barbot, another observer of African dance writing in the early 1700s, remarked upon its "abundance of lascivious gestures" (quoted by Emery 1988: 3). George Pinckard, in the early 1800s, writes this of slave dance aboard a slave ship:

In dancing they scarcely moved their feet, but threw about their arms, and twisted and writhed their bodies into a multitude of disgusting and indecent attitudes. Their song was a wild yell, devoid of all softness and harmony, and loudly chanted in harsh monotony (Pinckard 1816: vol.1, 102-3; quoted by Emery 1988: 11).

Moreau de St. Méry's theory linking dance to climate similarly constructed the African body as alien and bizarre, affected as it was by the alien and bizarre climate of the "Dark Continent" itself:

The Negroes of the Gold Coast, warlike, blood thirsty, accustomed to human sacrifice, know only dances that are ferocious like themselves, while the Congolese, the Senegalese and other African shepherds and farmers, enjoy dancing as relaxation, as a source of sensual pleasures (Moreau de St. Méry 1796: 43).

The link between climate, mode of production, personality and dance proposed by Moreau de St. Méry fits neatly into his conception of Africans as tireless: "no matter how tired ["a negro"] may be from his [sic] work, ["he"] always

finds the strength to dance and even to travel several leagues to satisfy his passion" (Moreau de St. Méry 1796: 43). Again, the tireless African body is intimately bound up in notions of "passion" and "sensuality."

Père Labat's 1724 account of slave dance fits well the pattern traced out here. In describing a *calenda* dance, Labat states: "it can be readily seen by this abridged description to what degree this dance is contrary to all modesty" (quoted by Emery 1988: 22). The continuity from this colonial discourse to colonial and postcolonial writings on dance in the twentieth century is striking.¹⁰ Leaf's and Lekis's work aside, as late as 1939 one commentator remarked:

Notwithstanding all that the European landowners and upper classes have done for the blacks by methods of education and gradual civilisation, there remains yet much to be desired to alienate them from the natural savage instincts which they inherit from their forefathers (Ormsby Marshall 1939: 287).

The continuity between colonial and contemporary discourse on dance is also effected through an exoticization of African Americans in the scholarship specifically concerned with African music and dance and their manifestations in the Americas (Waterman 1967, Roberts 1972). Following Herskovits's (and Boas's) imperative to collect as much detailed data as possible, these works intend to provide the evidence with which scholars like Lekis can support their arguments for "Africanisms" in the Americas. Of the two texts cited above, Waterman's is more critical of hasty assumptions about African music. Roberts suggests that much of the literature on Caribbean dance concerned with "Africanisms" (Waterman 1967: 3) relies on colonial constructions of "African-ness". But he, too, comes close to falling into this same way of thinking about African music, and in quite a surprising way. He links his analysis of African music to African contact with Islam - "African-ness" in music is understood in terms of derivations from (Robert's construction of) the Islamic world. The discourse of "Africanism" invoked here is intimately connected to the discourse of "Orientalism" (Said 1978, especially 46-8 where he notes Henry Kissinger's conflation of "Africa" and the "Orient").

Finally, even very recent scholarship on Caribbean dance falls into colonial ways of thinking about "African-ness" (Gallo 1978, Szwed and Marks 1988). Szwed and Marks's (1988) article on "the Afro-American transformation of European set dances and dance suites" provides a useful review of some of the more recent literature on Caribbean dance and recordings of Caribbean music. One of their main points about the transformation of European dances into African-American ones, however, is founded upon the same kind of notion of "African-ness" evidenced by the colonial writers. In discussing the *quadrille* on Guadeloupe, they write:

It appears that throughout the Caribbean the last dance of a set is typically a local form. Whether this indicates the chronological order of the appearance of each dance in the culture... or is another illustration of the Afro-American performance style of turning "European" performances into "Afro-American" ones as they progress, remains to be seen (Szwed and Marks 1988: 30).

Neither of these propositions is necessary to explain the variability of the last figure in Guadeloupean *quadrille*. Szwed and Marks's uncritical use of a singularly defined "Afro-American performance style" echoes colonial writings on African and African-American dance, with the same implicit racist underpinnings. The literature available on European set dances of the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries provides a solution to the question Szwed and Marks leave open to two equally unsatisfactory answers. One author, for example, describes the development of different *quadrilles* in France in the early 1800s, noting that "the fifth or final figure has been danced in many ways" (Richardson 1960: 61). Other authors (Hilton 1981: chs. 1, 3; Heartz 1957: vol.2) spend a great deal of time discussing the variations in the fifth figures of even earlier *quadrilles*. Thus, Szwed and Marks' uncritical reliance on (colonial) notions of "African-ness" is not necessary to explain the variation in the fifth figure of Caribbean *quadrilles*.

CARIBBEAN DANCE AND SUBJUGATED KNOWLEDGES

The authors whose works I examine in this section are fully aware of the processes of devaluation and delegitimation involved in the construction of Caribbean dance as "folkdance." Perhaps because many of them are Caribbean dancers or scholars themselves the stakes in challenging these processes are higher, and the need to deconstruct the colonial discourse on Caribbean dance more immediate. Their projects confront western biases toward dances defined as "folk" and, in so doing, adopt a decidedly and consciously political stance toward the study of dance. Because of these authors' constant strategic positioning of themselves and their subject matter, at times their work seems to contribute to the conceptual muddles surrounding notions of resistance and complicity, exoticization, and imperial nostalgia discussed above.

This is especially evident where some of these authors attempt to define their projects in terms of cultural resistance. The resistance involved here, however, is not one conceptualized in vulgar political terms of a dichotomy between resistance and complicity. Rather, it involves the production of correctives to previous writing and thinking on Caribbean and African dance. These correctives are then rewritten as historical narrative, a revision which provides

a direct challenge to the hegemonic histories of colonial and imperialist discourse. The new historical narrative presents itself as a system of subjugated knowledges (Foucault 1980) now coming to the surface to create an alternative, subversive discursive space.

Pearl Primus's work is an excellent example of a critique subjugated by dominant discourse. Her article on African dance (1946), written contemporaneously with Leaf's and Jarvis's texts, begins with an attack on the notion of "primitive" dance: "Primitive dance is a misnomer. There is nothing primitive about it" (Primus 1946: 15). She goes on to challenge the perception of African dances as erotic, wild, unstructured, and formless. She concludes by extolling African dances as "art" in their own right. While this could be seen as a slip toward glorification of an ontological "African dance" in the terms of the dominant culture (with exoticization not far behind), the work of another author helps put this piece in perspective.

Writing on the "African roots" of African-American music, Nketia (1979) concedes that, when seen from an African perspective, few "Africanisms" can truly be said to exist, except perhaps fragmentarily, in the Americas. But despite this acknowledgement, he argues that the *idea* of "Africanisms" in the Americas is of utmost political and cultural significance:

From the point of view of the Americas, [...] it appears that the primary value of what exists in Africa is that it provides the basis for the development of tradition, for exploring new directions [...](Nketia 1979: 17).

Primus' acceptance of the category "art" can thus be seen as a political move toward legitimating the subjugated history of African dance, and toward bringing that claim of legitimacy to bear on western scholarship on dance, and on dance itself.

Cheryl Ryman is similarly involved in a project of legitimation. Dance for Ryman figures importantly in the development of historical and national consciousness, and her article on Jamaican dance (Ryman 1980), published in *Jamaica Journal* and thus read by *Jamaicans*, represents an effort to bring that consciousness to a Jamaican readership. On the kind of colonial constructions discussed above, she writes:

... no Jamaican should perpetuate, even through ignorance, the exaggerated, sensationalist attitudes directed toward our African heritage. This is one legacy of the colonial experience which must be shed (Ryman 1980: 2).

Misguided projection of our heritage, either for entertainment or, what is worse, for what is purported to be serious documentation, is not only unnecessary, but belittles our cultural identity. [...] We run a very real risk [...] that through self-perpetuated ignorance, we will

stand rootless and ornamental, waiving a banner of Jamaican culture - ORIGINS
UNKNOWN (Ryman 1980: 3).

A certain tension seems to exist between the writings of Ryman and other contemporary Jamaican dancers and commentators on dance, in particular those concerned with articulating a Caribbean dance aesthetic (Nettleford 1968, 1985; Barnett 1982; see also Rohlehr 1980). These writers, particularly Nettleford, challenge western notions of authenticity which both deny Caribbean dance the status of "art" and label any attempt to bring Caribbean dance into the arena of stage performance a "corruption" of "authentic" (folk)dance (Nettleford 1968: 129). The process of challenging these notions of legitimacy through experimentation with Caribbean dance forms and their realization on stage is, for Nettleford, a process of "artistic discovery" which is simultaneously an act of liberation (Nettleford 1985: ch.1).

Nettleford's National Dance Theatre Company of Jamaica follows from a tradition of Caribbean dancers' and dance companies' experimentation with Caribbean dance, from Beryl McBurnie and the Little Carib Group of Trinidad, to Ivy Baxter's Dance Group and Eddy Thomas's Dance Workshop/Jamaica Dance Theatre. The Caribbean dances with which these dancers have worked have been "extended, distorted, recombined and added to" to create original artistic creations which speak to the majority of Caribbean people (Barnett 1982: 86). For these dancers, herein lies the revolutionary potential of dance as a nonverbal communicator of a message of liberation founded in struggle (Nettleford 1985: 19).

The tension with Ryman's work remains. On the one hand, Ryman seems to suggest that experimentation with Jamaican dance forms might slide into "sensationalist attitudes" toward Jamaican culture; what is needed instead is careful research. On the other, Ryman, with her call for research, makes a bid for the reification of the "authenticity" of Caribbean dance forms. As Nettleford points out, however, when one is dealing with Caribbean cultures, formed by genocide, slavery and exploitation, no one can claim "authenticity" for anything (Nettleford 1968: 129).

For the most part, such notions of authenticity are avoided by *some* scholars studying Caribbean dance. Spitzer's (1986) analysis of *zydeco* in rural Louisiana carefully articulates historical documentation on the origins of *zydeco* music and dance with ethnographic accounts of performances today, in the context of the political negotiation of histories in forming regional identities. Roseman's (1986) book on music and dance in the French Antilles from 1635 to 1901 examines, practically decade by decade, the forms and functions of dances and musics in relation to historical events, social realities and political change. Dobbin's (1986) work on the *jombée* dance of Montserrat similarly locates form and

function of the dance in sociopolitical realities, although his uncritical assessment of the "African-derived" religious aspects of the dance requires careful problematization.

Bilby's (1985) work on Caribbean music and Lafontaine's (1982, 1983) on music and dance in Guadeloupe carefully avoid hasty conclusions about African derivations, and both firmly locate their accounts of music and dance in the context of historical struggle - Bilby in the contemporary arena, Lafontaine more historically. Both are sympathetic to the projects of people like Nettleford who are engaged in the redefinition of Caribbean dance in the articulation of a Caribbean political aesthetic.

CONCLUSION

I began this essay with a call for a partnership between African-American studies and the anthropology of dance. Kurath's important contribution to the anthropological study of dance was her recognition that all dance must be studied in its social, cultural, political and historical contexts. No dance should be separated from the culture of which it is a part for the purposes of analysis. Ballet, for example, should not be seen as an aesthetic event universally generalizable to all other cultures. The false distinctions between "ethnic" dance and "art" dance dissolve: *all* dance is "ethnic," just as all "common sense" is "local" (Geertz 1983). Few of the works on Caribbean dance take this into account. Dance is conceptualized as "folkdance" or "ethnic dance" as distinct from "Dance," that is, "dance as 'we' commonsensically know it in the west."

The conceptualization of Caribbean dance as "folkdance" leads to two interconnected ways of discussing it. On the one hand, dance is seen in terms of political resistance, complicity, or coercion. In the resistance framework, anthropological onlookers cheer as "native" dance triumphs over western imperialism and capitalist domination by virtue of its "authenticity." Or the anthropologist sings an elegy for Caribbean dance forever "tainted" by dominant political economic structures. On the other hand, dance is seen through colonial eyes; the anthropologist gawks at the strange and unusual, sensual and exotic dances of the "native." The anthropologist is again buying into notions of "authenticity" in the quest for something "different" from and "untouched" by western multinational capitalism. Both poles of debate rest on notions of authenticity constructed out of an idea of the unknowable "other." Both thus return to the same conceptualizations of "folkdance" with which they began.

Can there be, then, a scholarship on Caribbean dance critical of notions of resistance and complicity, critical of assumptions on African origins which reinscribe colonial discourses, and sympathetic toward the strategic negotiation

of dances and their histories by Caribbean dancers engaged in liberation struggles? Aside from the small number of books and articles just discussed, the study of Caribbean dance has not escaped its colonial heritage in most twentieth-century scholarship. Perhaps we could qualify Herskovits's statement that previous research on dance in the Caribbean is "indicative of the opinions of those who have witnessed Negro dancing in the New World." This research is indicative not of individual opinions and motivations so much as of a general mode of thought along the lines of Foucault's *episteme*, wherein during the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, western preoccupations with naming and ordering gave way to hierarchical systems of naturalized difference (Foucault 1970: 206-8). In the earlier epistemological field,

... it was of course necessary, *de facto*, to share the normal functions with the non-normal; thus a pathological psychology was accepted side by side with a normal psychology, but forming as it were an inverted image of it...; in the same way, a pathology of societies (Durkheim) and of irrational and quasi-morbid forms of belief (Levy-Bruhl, Blondel) was also accepted (Foucault 1970: 360).

With the turn of the century, and the work of Freud, Foucault argues, the pathological and irrational are more completely incorporated into newly emerging normative systemic epistemologies, wherein "each area provided its own coherence and its own validity" (Foucault 1970: 361). This epistemic shift is, however, incomplete. As far as discourse on Africa is concerned, the "expression of a will to truth" implicit in earlier epistemological fields "has been questioned only recently" (Mudimbe 1988: 26). The case appears to be much the same for the discourse on Caribbean dance.

Approaches to the study of Caribbean dance founded in notions of political resistance and its permutations or in nostalgic colonial discourse on "African-ness" are both parts of a greater whole: a system of thought overly concerned with demonstrating the authenticity of things "native," which in fact conflates the categories "authentic" and "native," and, in so doing, creates an "other" subject to "scientific" scrutiny and dissection. To escape the circularity of this mode of thought, we should seriously consider the implications of Nettleford's assertion that "authenticity" is a concept not applicable in the Caribbean (or anywhere) - especially in the study of African-American dance.

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NOTES

1. Other reviews of the literature on Caribbean dance are Szwed and Marks 1988 and Thompson 1979. In this paper, I use a broad definition of "the Caribbean," including Caribbean immigrant communities and African-American communities in parts of the southern U.S. Due to space and language constraints, I have not included the tremendous scholarship in both Spanish and English on dance in the Hispanic Caribbean. Furthermore, the history of scholarship on dance in the Hispanic Caribbean is, I think, significantly different from that on dance in the rest of the Caribbean. This is mainly because of a stronger and longer tradition of non-U.S. scholars studying dance in these islands, and of a decreased impact of American anthropology in these studies. I have included as an appendix a listing of sources on dance in the Hispanic Caribbean.

2. Paul Spencer (1985) provides the most complete overview of the different trends in the anthropology of dance along theoretical lines, from structural-functionalist approaches, to Turnerian ritual process approaches, to Malinowskian psychological, Geertzian symbolic and, finally, structuralist approaches. Like Hanna, Kaeppler and Kealiinohomoku, Spencer's work leads up to a favorable assessment of a structuralist framework in the analysis of dance as a language.

3. I would like to thank Prof. Jim Gibbs for pointing this out to me, and for suggesting Aschenbrenner's monograph as an important source. Also of interest here is the publishing history of Dunham's and Hurston's works. Dunham's M.A. thesis was not published until 1983; Hurston's *Tell my horse* was published first in 1938. Its copyright was renewed in 1967, and it was not reprinted until 1983.

4. But this is not to suggest that critical reception of Dunham's work was *uniformly* racist, or that positive evaluations did not exist. Aschenbrenner (1981) points out that on numerous occasions, by the mid-1950s, critics were much more favorable to Dunham's project, and that at many earlier performances audiences also responded favorably to Dunham's programs.

5. The categories I employ to present my sources are my own constructions. They function in my text as a useful organizing principle in maintaining the flow of the argument I present below.

6. Sally Price (1989) notes with the following quotation E.H. Gombrich's contribution to racist stereotyping of Africans as "childish":

Negroes in Africa are sometimes as vague as little children about what is picture and what is real ... they even believe that certain animals are related to them in some fairy-tale manner ... [they] live in a kind of dream world ... It is very much as if children played at pirates or detectives till they no longer knew where play-acting ended and reality began. But with the children there is always the grown-up world about them, the people who tell them, "Don't be so noisy", or "It is nearly bed-time". For the savage there is no such other world to spoil the illusion (Gombrich 1966, quoted by S. Price 1989: 125).

For more on these stereotypes and the invention of "Africa" and "African-ness," see Milbury-Steen 1981: part 1; Drake 1987: chs.1 and 2; and Miller 1985.

7. James Clifford discusses the political and economic relations behind such constructions of non-western bodies as relying on an aesthetic of "modern primitivism" that changed the boundaries

between the western categories "primitive art" and "ethnographic specimen" (Clifford 1988: 197-201).

8. These quotations are from (in order): Stewart 1808: 263; Sloan 1707-25: vol.1, p.vi; and Phillipo 1843: 242. All are cited by Nettleford 1985: 17-8.

9. These quotations are from (in order): Marsden 1788: 33-4; Kelly 1838: 21; and Gardner 1873: 184. Again, all are cited by Nettleford 1985: 18.

10. Several books providing quotations from colonial sources which are not discussed in this paper are: Southern 1983a, 1983b, Emery 1988, Epstein 1977, Roseman 1986 and Hastings 1976. Of these books, Emery 1988 and Southern 1983a are most prone to the kind of assumptions discussed in this section; the others are mostly concerned with documentary history. Roseman 1986 provides a description of dance and music in the French Antilles broken down along military, religious, social and political functions. Epstein provides a similarly detailed and clearly organized account of music and dance among African Americans, mostly in the U.S. Hastings 1976 is a translation of Moreau de St. Méry's 1796 article on dance in the West Indies.

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APPENDIX: SOME SOURCES ON DANCE IN THE HISPANIC CARIBBEAN (see n.1 above)

In addition to the sources listed below, two journals, *Latin American Literature and Arts* and *Latin American Music Review*, frequently contain articles on dance in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and Cuba. On Cuban dance, and on situating the study of dance in the Hispanic Caribbean more generally, see especially the work of Daniel and Ortiz below. On Puerto Rico, refer to the special issues of *Revista/Review Interamericana* on Latin American music and dance (1978/1979, 8(4) and 9(1), articles listed individually below). Comparatively little is written on dance in the Dominican Republic, but see Lizardo 1979 below.

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A COLONIAL COUNTER ECONOMY: TOBACCO PRODUCTION ON
ESPAÑOLA, 1500-1870*

INTRODUCTION

The Spanish colonization of the Americas was guided by an essentially urban ideology. Spanish officials saw the city as the lynch-pin of the American colonial empire, which had to be provided with goods and services by the surrounding countryside (Moreno Toscano & Floresco 1976). In many respects, cities thus became the symbol of Spanish hierarchy and centralism. Richard Morse (1984: 78) writes: "Colonization was largely a labour of 'urbanization', that is, a strategy of settlement nucleation for appropriating resources and implanting jurisdiction".

The paradox of Spanish colonialism was that, in spite of this centralist ideology, a great deal of marginal 'frontier'-activity took place. One could even say that colonial reality was determined more by individual colonists pushing forward the agricultural and colonial frontier than by imperial centralism. The Spanish Crown could not prevent a great deal of uncontrolled economic activity within its borders. Even in smaller territories, such as the Caribbean islands, this paradox was clearly visible. The Puerto Rican historian Angel Quintero Rivera recently stressed that the 'urban-rural dichotomy' has been an essential characteristic of Puerto Rican history. The rural population in the interior of the island created a peasant economy in defiance of the central government. He writes: "For this rural world, the city represented the State: it represented that which one had to retreat from." (Quintero Rivera 1987: 130). On the neighboring island of Española, a similar situation existed. The administrative prominence of Santo Domingo could not prevent a flourishing tobacco producing peasant economy from emerging in the northern Cibao valley.

This contrast between city and countryside, between the state and agricultural producers, is critical for the political and geographical history of the regions involved and throws a particular light upon the linkages between the Spanish colonies and the world market, if we may give the Atlantic mercantile system this somewhat anachronistic epithet. While an urban ideology of absolute control and mercantilist centralization prevailed, pockets of unauthorized production and commerce existed everywhere in the enormous colonial empire. In the Caribbean area tobacco played an important role in this agricultural production outside the authority of the Spanish colonial system. Tobacco matured rapidly and was easily grown with techniques learned from the native population. It quickly became a favorite, but illegal, export. As such, it played an important role in the incursions of Dutch and French buccaneers into Spanish territory.

The Spanish Crown did all it could to eradicate the unauthorized trade and even tried the forced resettlement of the rural population. This led in Northern Venezuela and the Dominican Republic to the so-called 'despoblaciones' or 'devastaciones' in the first decade of the 17th century. When these measures proved unsuccessful over the long run, the colonial authorities tried to incorporate the tobacco sector in the Spanish mercantile system. This was more or less successful in Cuba, but on Española - today the Dominican Republic - tobacco remained a crop of independent small-holders, who resisted intervention of the national state well into the 19th century.

This paper tries to explore some aspects of the counter-economy based on the cultivation of tobacco. It will emphasize the dynamics of economic change on a local level. Without denying the influence of expanding mercantile capitalism in the 17th and 18th centuries, it will qualify theories which see Spanish centralism as the sole determining force in the colonial history of Latin America (see also Mintz 1977 and Stern 1988).

THE COLONIAL SYSTEM OF ESPAÑOLA

After the conquest of Española and the rapid extinction of the native population the Spaniards were confronted with the enormous task of *creating* a new society. Rather than the result of a conscious and premeditated process, the society which came into existence on the island Española showed a curious mixture of Spanish colonial ideology, *ad hoc* decisions by state officials and heterogeneous local initiatives. After the extermination of the indigenous inhabitants, sugar cane plantations became the mainstay of a Spanish settler colony. The cultivation of sugar cane with slave labor was to make Española the next Spanish sugar colony after the Canary Islands. The first plantation was established in 1515 (Bosch 1979: 23). In 1520, six sugar mills were functioning,

and forty water-driven *ingenios* were in the process of construction (Moya Pons 1976: 72-3). The cultivation of sugar cane resulted in considerable economic activity on the island and brought wealth to more than a few Spanish settlers. As a result of this development, the importation of slaves accelerated rapidly after the 1520s, and Echagoian mentioned a number of 20,000 slaves working on the island in 1568 (Rodríguez Demorizi 1970: 131). In the 1530s, the island counted a total of 34 mills producing sugar and molasses; and in 1568, "plantations owning a hundred-fifty to two hundred slaves were not uncommon". If we believe Ratekin (1954: 13), the largest plantations owned up to 500 slaves, an astounding number for the period. The sugar planters on the island were closely affiliated to the public and religious authorities. Civil servants and religious congregations acted as buyers of sugar products and owned sugar plantations themselves. Most colonial officials had some private business on the side, and a close connection between private and public functions became the rule.

However, the weak foundation of the colonial sugar economy became apparent as early as the 1570s, when trade with Spain suffered a sharp decline. The discovery and *conquista* of the South American continent in the 16th century caused a decisive shift in the structure of the Spanish colonial empire. The Caribbean islands lost their central place, and the continental centers of Spanish colonial expansion gradually superseded them. Sometimes two years passed without any Spanish ship arriving in the Santo Domingo harbor (Chaunu & Chaunu 1955-59: I, 497-503). Many planters went bankrupt or left, and few sugar plantations remained in the 17th century. The Spanish administration moved to the continent, and the most active and rich entrepreneurs left the Caribbean islands for the promising mainland possessions of Spain.¹ On Española, only 800 Spanish households, some 4000 people, remained in 1574 (Peña Perez 1980: 72-3).

The North-West European expansionism in the Caribbean considerably aggravated the problems for Española. Although attempts had been made by the Dutch to establish a legitimate trade, the Spanish mercantilism forced the Dutch, French and English into smuggling and, even more harmful to the Spanish trade, into piracy. Much of the Santo Domingo transport was done with small coasters, which were an easy prey for the roaming pirate ships, which started to intrude upon Spanish territory at the end of the 16th century.² In 1595 the treasurer of Santo Domingo, Diego de Ibarra reported:

"For the last four years (...) corsairs are as numerous and assiduous as though these were ports of their own countries. (...) Not a ship coming up from the outside escapes them; nor does any which leaves the harbor get past them." (Cited in Andrews 1978: 168).

These remarks were ideologically loaded; it was not so much piracy but contraband trade which was seen as the largest threat to the Spanish colonial empire. The Spanish motherland could not provision its Española colony; neither did it import the latter's agrarian commodities. Not surprisingly, the European contraband traders found an eager market in Santo Domingo. Contraband trade was the only option of the creole population of the island. We may see the English captain, John Hawkins, as the founder of this flourishing trade. Carrying cloth and general merchandise from England and slaves from West Africa, he made four voyages to Española in the period from 1562 to 1568. He successfully traded with merchants in the northern cities Isabela, Monte Cristi and Puerto Plata. In the course of this strictly illegal trade, he even paid his duties to the local authorities, apparently hoping to convince the Spanish government of the advantages of legal trade (Parry & Sherlock 1971: 34). Although the Spanish Crown never considered permission for such an unpardonable infringement on its monopoly, the inhabitants of the island did not hesitate to take advantage of this welcome opportunity to evade the slow and inefficient Spanish mercantile structure. The illegal trade prospered especially in the interior. By 1577, the contraband trade had become 'una verdadera tradición' (Peña Perez 1980: 76). The entire population participated in this forbidden, but profitable, traffic.

In the 1590s, the Dutch had twenty ships which traded exclusively with Cuba and Santo Domingo (Goslinga 1971: 55).³ The northern part of the island in particular took advantage of this trade, and it is tempting to agree with Frank Peña Perez (1980: 93-4) when he writes:

"En 1590 la actividad comercial mas importante de la Isla era el contrabando y por eso las principales riquezas se fueron trasladando hacia la banda noroeste, zona donde estaban los puertos mas activas en lo que respecta al trato con los comerciantes extranjeros".

His conclusion is that "el contrabando estaba beneficiando a los vecinos del interior de la Isla, pero al mismo tiempo habia perjudicado a Santo Domingo".

This prosperous contraband trade gradually shifted the economic emphasis from production of sugar to cattle-holding. Hides and provisions were a favorite merchandise for the buccaneers, who explored the scarcely inhabited western and northern coasts of the island. The south-western valleys around San Juan de Maguana and the large region around Monte Cristi became the domain of the *hateros*, who were living off the illegal trade with the French and Dutch pirates. When notice went out that a ship had cast anchor off the northern coast, the roads of the interior filled with mules, cattle and *carretas*, which carried merchandise from distances of up to forty miles (Peña Perez 1980: 76).

TOBACCO AND THE 'DESPOBLACIONES'

Everywhere in the Caribbean creole farmers started to cultivate tobacco in the last decades of the 16th century. The centers of production were Cuba and, above all, the northern coast of Venezuela, where a considerable amount of tobacco was produced and sold. The buyers were the English and Dutch ships. At the end of the 16th century the demand for tobacco in Europe was quickly growing. The market for tobacco in North-West Europe grew rapidly and Dutch, British and French traders were eager buyers. A flourishing contraband trade developed which encompassed the entire Atlantic coast of America (Andrews 1978: 225-6; Sluiter 1948). Tobacco thus became an important vehicle of incursions on Spanish colonial territory.⁴

While the sugar sector in the southern part of Española was in decline and cattle-holding was the principal activity in the rest of the country, small-scale agriculture developed around the Santiago-La Vega axis, in the so-called 'Vega Real'. Small-scale farmers started to cultivate tobacco together with food crops. Part of this agricultural production was consumed within the region, but some of it was sold to the ships which frequented the northern coast. Tobacco quickly became a favorite cash crop of the northern population. Unfortunately, sources on the producers of the tobacco are very scarce and provide only very sketchy information, but we must assume it had acquired some significance in the late 16th century (Gil-Bermejo 1983: 71).

In the 16th and 17th centuries when the tobacco production developed in the shadow of Spanish mercantile control (and often opposed to it), the cultivation of tobacco became the realm of the creolized Spanish population. The impoverished whites and colored groups gradually integrated tobacco into their subsistence agriculture and began its commercialization. The memoria of the Cabildo of Santo Domingo, which argued against the depopulation of the northern and western territories, described the tobacco producing population of the Cibao as 'gente común': poor whites, mestizos, mulattoes and negroes (Sluiter 1948: 187).

They cultivated tobacco for their personal use and sold a part of it to cover their inevitable cash expenditures. In the 17th century various religious officials were exporting tobacco which they had received as tithe or prebend, to Spain, (Gil-Bermejo 1983: 154-5). In an economy where the circulation of money was very limited, easy-to-handle cash crops such as ginger or tobacco functioned as a means for the poor agrarian population to fulfill their religious and civic obligations and to acquire their basic necessities.⁵

The problem was, of course, that the tobacco export was unauthorized. The Spanish Crown did not permit trade, unless it was under its control. The tobacco cultivation was such an annoyance to the colonial officials that they were

prepared to take radical measures to put an end to it. In 1604, the Crown ordered the evacuation of the populations of Northern Venezuela and Santo Domingo to interior towns, which were created for that purpose by the Spanish government. In Española the Spanish Crown decided to evacuate the population of the western and north-western parts of the island. This led to the so-called *despoblaciones*, which took place in the years 1605-1606. Under direction of the governor, Antonio Osorio, towns were burned down and families forcefully resettled in new settlements in the central and eastern part of the country (Peña Perez 1980).

The Spanish offensive against the illegal trade was principally directed against the tobacco trade. The Real Cedula of 1606 prohibited all cultivation of tobacco in the Spanish Caribbean possessions for at least ten years.⁶ The Cabildo of Santo Domingo protested immediately against the prohibition because, according to this institution, many people depended on the cultivation of tobacco for their 'sustento y conservación' (cited in Peña Perez 1986: 149). The members of the cabildo of the cathedral, pointing to the economic importance of tobacco, also opposed the Real Cedula of 1606. For many inhabitants it was the principal means of subsistence 'dentro del contexto general de la pobreza que allí se daba'. Moreover, they referred to the income which its cultivation generated for the state and the Church. The latter received more than 1,000 ducats yearly from levies on tobacco sales. The final argument against the prohibition was the large consumption of tobacco by the African slaves, who could become restless when the tobacco supply dwindled (Gil-Bermejo 1983: 71-2). This same argument was used by the governor of Caracas who complained that the pearl-fishing slaves in Margarita hardly worked when there was no tobacco (Goslinga 1971: 83).

This episode shows to what extremes the Spanish Crown was prepared to go in order to protect its monopoly. Just as occurred elsewhere in the Spanish Empire, the Crown's imperial policy sacrificed the potential development of its colonies to its relentless desire to maintain a centralized government and a monopolistic commercial structure (Sluiter 1948).

THE TOBACCO SECTOR IN THE 17TH CENTURY

Not surprisingly, the prohibitive legislature of the tobacco cultivation on Española was not successful. If cultivation was interrupted at all, it was only for a very short period of time. Probably as a result of the protests, the colonial officials allowed legal export of tobacco to Spain. In 1612, Santo Domingo started to export tobacco to Sevilla. The registered exports reached an amount of 322,757 pounds in the period 1612-1614. Considering the arrival of unregistered ships in Spain and the continuing contraband trade, production was

probably much more (Gil-Bermejo 1983: 71-2). The prohibition of 1606 was annulled in 1614. Of course, the stipulation that all the tobacco had to be shipped to Spain remained. In fact, if it had not been for the staunch resistance of the Sevilla merchants, the Crown had established a royal monopoly in 1634.

For the island the *despoblaciones* were less inconsequential. Much has been said about the debility and ineffectiveness of the Spanish colonial policy in the 17th century, but in specific occasions Spain could decisively influence the historical fate of its possessions.⁷ Although they were the ultimate consequence of a weak colonialism, the *despoblaciones* had profound consequences for the future of the island.

The establishment of European buccaneers in the uninhabited regions of the island and the ultimate foundation of the French colony of Saint-Domingue were the most evident result of the *despoblaciones*. In the same process, the French and Dutch buccaneers took over part of the tobacco production. In 1630, they already possessed plantations where they cultivated tobacco (Sevilla Soler 1980: 91). In Tortuga and Samaná tobacco was illegally cultivated. Later, tobacco became the chief export product of the French settlers in the western part of Española. In 1678, some two million pounds were exported to France (Peña Perez 1986: 115). The production became so great that the French market could not absorb it anymore. The consequent drop of tobacco prices induced most French planters to look for more profitable export crops, and tobacco rapidly lost its privileged position in the French settlement (Moya Pons 1976: 187-9).

In a more general sense, the *despoblaciones* were one of the causes of the economic and social stagnation of the Spanish colony in the 17th and 18th centuries. They were followed by a long period of stagnation in Santo Domingo, 'cien años de miseria', as Peña Perez called his book about the 17th century colony. The population diminished to an unprecedented low level, and the economic opportunities of the Spanish market were less every day. The few export products which found a market in Spain, sugar, ginger and some tobacco, could hardly be shipped in absence of vessels. Ginger, for instance, sometimes arrived damaged in Sevilla because of the long delays (Chaunu & Chaunu 1955-59: VI, 542). Life in the 17th century colony became very precarious. The population of the island, black, mulatto and white, pulled back to a kind of subsistence economy. The poverty drove them into the interior where they did their own primitive agriculture.⁸ Only a few Spanish officials and landholders could maintain their European habits and consume imported Spanish wines and wheat. Most inhabitants accustomed themselves to the local foodstuffs, *yuca*, *batatas*, *platanos*, and hunted *cimarron* cattle for their meat consumption. The poverty in Santo Domingo was so great that in 1670 the appointed archbishop, Francisco Gutierrez, refused to accept his post on the island (Peña Perez 1986:

186). Some people escaped the misery by boarding Dutch and English pirate ships (Andrews 1978: 196).

THE COMING OF THE FRENCH

The ultimate proof of Spain's failure as a colonizing mother country - the establishment of a French colony on the western part of the island - would paradoxically be the salvation of the Spanish colony on Española. The trade with the French colonists, which started with the traditional contraband trade, quickly became an important pillar of the Dominican economy. Four years after the treaty of Rijswijk (1697) between France and Spain, the French part of the island counted 35 sugar mills, and 25 new ones were in the process of construction (Deive 1980: I, 134). This provided the Spanish agriculturists and cattle-holders in the eastern part of the island, and especially those living around Santiago, with a new and promising market for their products (Silié 1976: 38-46). When the Spanish and French monarchies allied themselves in the war of the Spanish Succession, the illegal trade gained some respectability. The population in the Spanish colony was also growing rapidly. The mere 10,000 inhabitants who lived on the island in 1700 increased to 70,000 in 1770 and passed 100,000 in 1780 (Moya Pons 1974).

The export of large stocks of wild cattle continued to be the most important activity, but the cultivation of tobacco expanded steadily in the northern part of the island. The Spanish authorities were hesitantly repopulating this part of the country in an effort to stop the French penetration into the Cibao valley. Tobacco, cultivated with the foodcrops, became the favorite crop of the Spanish producers again. The principal producing area was the Santiago-La Vega region, where in the 1680s 'se cogía lo limitado para el avasto desta Isla' (governor Andres de Robles Caballero, cited in Peña Perez 1986: 195). In the frontier region tobacco was also cultivated to satisfy the local demand and for export to the French part of the island (Moya Pons 1976: 209-11). The production was not very high in this period and hardly met consumption demands on the island. In 1687, it was reported from Santo Domingo that "el tabaco no se comercia (...), y solo se siembra el que aquí se gasta" (G. Semillán Campusano, cited in Peña Perez 1986: 196). Deive (1980: I, 137) suggests that a scarcity of slaves impeded a real expansion of the tobacco cultivation in this period. In other words, the scarcity of labor impeded a large-scale, commercial cultivation of the crop. Until this problem was solved, tobacco remained a peasant crop, cultivated together with foodcrops such as yuca, beans and maize.

Tobacco was cultivated on a small and irregular scale and formed in this way an integrated part of the war economy which dominated the Cibao until well

into the 18th century. The region west of Santiago was a virtual no man's land where French and Spanish troops made irregular inroads. The frequent warfare created both havoc and commercial opportunities. The scarce population in this region always lived on the edge of a pragmatic neutrality and regularly engaged in semi-illegal economic activities.

In the French colony tobacco was no longer cultivated at the end of the 17th century. The French planters were only interested in profitable export products, such as sugar cane, coffee, cacao and indigo (Debien 1941 and 1962). The Cibao now became the chief supplier of tobacco for the French colony's consumption. The Dominican *andullo*, a pressed tobacco roll, became famous in this period and was eagerly consumed on the French plantations. Sanchez Valverde (1944: 185) wrote in 1785, when the trade had become illegal again:

"Nuestros andullos o garrotes de Tabaco son lo mas apreciados de los Franceses (...). Esta introducción clandestina ha sido uno de los mas fuertes Comercios con que ha subsistido nuestra Colonia en su mayor decadencia".⁹

The island economy acquired a dynamic of its own that escaped the control of the responsible colonial authorities. Many slaves for the French colony were imported by way of the Spanish port of Monte Cristi, which became a bustling harbor town in the second half of the 18th century. In spite of the different wars between the European powers, this city was a meeting place of French, Dutch and Spanish traders; during this period, more than hundred ships were sometimes anchored at its shore (Bosch 1979: 94; Liss 1983: 30-1). The position of the city was even more important since it was also the center of the overland trade between the Cibao valley and the French plantations.

The more or less uncontrollable dynamics of this trade showed itself in the interesting fact that all three governments involved expressed open annoyance over this flourishing trade. The English talked about the 'pernicious traffic' (Bosch 1979: 94). The French authorities complained about "l'animosité qu'on [the French settlers] y a contre le negociant francais" and even risked a rebellion of the *petit-blancs* in an attempt to suppress this trade (Frostin 1975: 288-9 and passim). The Spanish government did all it could to obtain control over the frontier trade and diminish the loss of custom duties.

ECONOMIC RECOVERY

The modest revival of the Santo Domingo economy which occurred in the second half of the 18th century was partly a result of the 'Bourbon-reforms'. The Spanish state acquired new vitality under the direction of King Charles III

(1759-88) and tried with fresh determination to obtain direct control of its Spanish American colonies. The spin-off effects of the Saint-Domingue economy and the liberalization of the Spanish trade from 1765 onwards stimulated new investments and a moderate optimism in the circles of the *criollo* entrepreneurs (Gutiérrez Escudero 1985: 108-11).

The new economic policy outlined by Charles III and his advisors followed two different, and not always harmonious, lines. On the one hand, the onerous mercantile monopoly of a few Spanish American cities was alleviated. The Spanish Caribbean islands were the first to take advantage of this changed vision. In 1765, it was decreed that the trade exercised by the 'islas de Barlovento' would be free and that the merchants of these islands were free to establish direct commercial relations with a limited number of Spanish ports (Muñoz Pérez 1947). Of course, many limitations remained in existence - Fisher (1981: 22) ironically calls it a 'strictly limited' freedom -, but for the first time in their colonial history the Caribbean islands were allowed to pursue commercial activities without the troublesome involvement of the Spanish merchants and public officials.

On the other hand, the Spanish Crown did not intend the emancipation of its colonies. It resorted to this new legislation in order to expand agricultural production in its American possessions and thus increase state revenues. This led to an extension of state intervention and a new tendency to peninsular control. More than before, the Spanish state took on the direction of the development of its Spanish American possessions. The production and marketing of tobacco was one of the first sectors to attract the attention of the authorities in this context (for New Spain, see Lang 1975: 85-6 and Walker, 1984; for Santo Domingo, see Lluberes 1977).

In Santo Domingo this led to the creation of a *Factoría de Tabacos* in 1763. Its function was to buy and stimulate the Cibao tobacco "para el mayor adelantamiento de la construcción de cigarros que se deben labrar en las Reales Fabricas de Sevilla" (Sanchez Valverde 1971: 66). To facilitate the buying of the tobacco every year, 25,000 pesos would be sent to Santo Domingo. These measures resulted from the new Bourbon policy and from the British occupation of Havana in 1762, which seriously threatened the supply of Cuban tobacco to Spain. The slow communications and the inefficiency of the imperial bureaucracy were responsible for the fact that it took seven years before the first shipment of tobacco under government control occurred. In that year, 1770, around 4,000 arrobas, for a total value of 15,068 *reales*, were sent to Spain (Sevilla Soler 1980: 106-7).

Once a steady sale was guaranteed, the production of tobacco in the Cibao grew significantly. The export to Cadiz oscillated around 10,000 *arrobas*.¹⁰ Production must have been considerably higher. First, there was the tobacco

consumption on the island itself, which was especially high among the slave population. Secondly, much tobacco was illegally exported to French Saint-Domingue and the neighboring islands. For example, in 1773-1774, 150 slaves were bought in Cuba and Puerto Rico and were paid for by tobacco representing a value of 33,000 pesos (Sevilla Soler 1980: 111). Inhabitants of the British West Indies islands, such as Jamaica, also consumed Dominican tobacco (Franklin 1971: 292).

In addition to the smallholders, many Spanish farmers started to cultivate the crop in the Cibao with the sole purpose of selling it on the Spanish market. After 1765, Spanish entrepreneurs even started to invest some capital in the tobacco cultivation. The scale of cultivation increased, and now slave labor was also used in the production process. In 1770, 247 Spanish civilians (*vecinos*) were involved in the cultivation of tobacco, supported by the labor of 202 slaves. For the first time some attention was given to the quality of the tobacco leaves, and the planters started to use a rude classification of the tobacco. The crop became an important export crop geared towards the Spanish market.

Concurrently, the larger-scale cultivators developed into a strong pressure group, *within* the island community and in the context of the wider colonial system. Through letters and *representaciones* they tried to influence the imperial policy and bring about favorable legislation. High officials, such as the governor, developed an extensive interest in the tobacco sector. When the Consejo de las Indias inquired into the island's situation in 1777, the governor answered that only an increase in the production of tobacco could save the island from its misery. The *cura rector* of Santiago expressed the same sentiment to the Spanish Cortes in 1779 in suggesting that the Crown should buy all the tobacco which the colony produced (Sevilla Soler 1980: 114-5).

The Spanish monopoly was far from an unambiguous blessing, however. The tobacco prices were too low, and in 1771, the island's tobacco producers protested and complained about the commercial conditions (Gutiérrez Escudero 1985: 111-2; Perez Peña 1986: 309). Three years later a Real Cedula was promulgated which limited the production of tobacco on Española to 12,000 *arrobos*. Overproduction in Spain itself led to this measure, and it incited widespread indignation in the colony. Only in 1778 was permission given to sell the excess production to French Saint-Domingue (Perez Peña 1986: 310). These events clearly demonstrate the contradictions of the Spanish imperial policy: it tried to increase agricultural production without giving free reign to the producers.

Nevertheless, the small-scale peasant production of tobacco persisted and may well have been increasing together with production by the larger farms. Sanchez Valverde wrote in 1785: "El Tabaco es tan natural que nace por sí en todas partes y alrededor de las mismas casas" (1971: 63). Tobacco remained

principally a peasant crop, cultivated by independent families as an integrated part of their subsistence economy. They were agricultural producers who complemented their agricultural activities with herding of small animals and hunting and, if necessary, fought as soldiers -, "habitantes que viven siempre en el campo, y esparciados aquí y allá" (Moreau de Saint-Méry 1944: 224). They were the *monteros*, described by Bonó in his short novel of 1856. Tobacco suited these ambulant and individualistic families very well because it could be grown within a relatively short time and always found a ready market.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

The slave revolt in the French part of the island which began in 1791 had profound consequences for the entire island. The Haitian revolution brought the island to the center of international politics. When the French took possession of the Spanish part of the island in the 1795, they had already lost Saint-Domingue (for earlier attempts, see Christelow 1941: 529). Haitian leaders feared a military invasion from the east. In 1801 and 1805, Haitian armies invaded Santo Domingo; and in 1822, the Haitians annexed the Spanish colony. This occupation only ended in 1844, when a Dominican independence movement took advantage of the temporary disorganization of the Haitian state after the death of its president Boyer.

An important consequence of these events was the emigration of many of the affluent persons from the Spanish colony. They took most of their possessions with them. A period of economic contraction was the inevitable result. The number of cattle, the principal source of wealth on Española, decreased dramatically; and the *hatero* activity diminished to a minimum. When Moya Pons (1985a: 248) describes the Spanish colony in this period as a 'completely devastated' country, where "subsistence agriculture accounted for most visible activity", he must have this situation in mind.

A two-sided economic transformation took place in the Spanish colony during the first half of the 19th century. On the one side we can see a process of *withdrawal* from the market, due to extreme instability and intermittent warfare. The Dominican cultivators fell back on their subsistence production. On the other hand, the process of *peasantization*, which found its origins in the colonial period, continued and formed the base for new relations with the world market.

In many respects, the non-plantation economy on the Dominican side survived the historical circumstances much better than the French plantation economy. The land legislation of the Boyer government during the Haitian occupation promoted a class of smallholding agrarian producers. The disappearance of Spanish exclusivism and the weakening of the *hatero* elite provided opportuni-

ties for alternative export production. When many of the wealthier (Spanish) producers emigrated to the other Spanish islands, the small-scale producers held on and continued their agriculture (Franklin 1971: 359). Initially, Cibao tobacco could only be sold on the island itself. Although the export of tobacco to Haiti could not make up for the loss of the Spanish market, the export of *andullos* to Haiti offered ample opportunities for the cultivators. The French traveller Pedron, who visited the island in 1800, noticed that the production of tobacco in the Santiago-La Vega region had become the exclusive domain of small-holders. These peasant producers provided so much tobacco that its value amounted to one and half million *pesos*.¹¹ The peasant economy maintained itself during the turbulent years of the beginning of the 19th century. During the Boyer government tobacco production grew significantly. According to MacKenzie (1971: II, 161), production increased to 6,000 *quintales* (300,000 pounds) in 1822. In the 1820s tobacco exports oscillated between approximately 400,000 and 700,000 pounds.¹²

If we can believe the figures of Ardouin (1958: XI, 54), tobacco export started to increase in the years 1833-35, reaching some 20,000 *quintales* in 1835. Until 1843, the year that the Dominican struggle for independence gained force and the Haitian government started to crumble, production consolidated itself on an average of 2 million pounds (Marte 1984: 85). The Haitian leaders were very conscious of the need to acquire foreign money and actively promoted export activities. The high indemnification payments which the French had forced the Haitians to accept induced the Haitian authorities to stimulate the cultivation of cash crops. Boyer's first public decision was the abolition of slavery on the island and the promise to distribute land to the liberated slaves. His main purpose, however, was the stimulation of agriculture. His instructions to his military commanders were very clear: "It is in the interest of the State as well of our brothers who have just received their liberty, that they be obliged to work, cultivating their land on which their survival depends". He concluded by emphasizing that not only foodstuffs should be grown, but also products for the market, such as coffee or tobacco (Moya Pons 1985b: 186). In April, 1830, the Haitian government even announced that it would buy all the produced tobacco 'a precio razonable' (Moya Pons 1972: 98-9).

Although Garcia may be right to point at the widespread corruption and illegal trade of the Haitian officials and merchants, this law certainly stimulated tobacco production by more market-oriented producers. Marte (1948: 33) suggests that the low prices for coffee on the world market induced many Haitian peasants to migrate to the Cibao and dedicate themselves to the cultivation of tobacco. These internal developments coincided with the resumption of the European trade after the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars. German trading ships started to anchor regularly at the northern coast. The

Hanseatic tobacco cities, Bremen and Hamburg, started to be regular buyers of Dominican tobacco. The increasing demand for tobacco in Europe and the establishment of stable trading relations with the German towns spurred Dominican production. These factors continued to stimulate the expansion of tobacco production in the newly formed Dominican Republic.

INDEPENDENCE

If one considers the clear 'developmentalist' ideology of the Boyer government in Santo Domingo, one can only conclude that the Dominican independence was a regressive movement toward the past. The struggle for independence had nationalistic and idealistic undertones, but its basic incentives were the frustrations of the old *hatero* elite and a deeply felt racist resistance of the urban middle class in the capital against the 'black' Haitian rule. It can be no coincidence that the Santiago elite and the Cibao in general, which would account for virtually all revolutionary activities in the remaining part of the 19th century, remained largely passive in the struggle against the Haitians. The Cibao had fared relatively well during the Haitian rule. Its population was only hesitantly prepared to huddle behind a vague and undefined struggle for national independence which was led by groups not likely to favor the Cibao's interests. These differences would manifest themselves all too quickly in the independent Dominican Republic. Brea (1983: 69-70) rightly notes that instead of unifying the island, as intended by Toussaint l'Ouverture, the Haitian occupation of Santo Domingo had only accentuated the regional divisions of the island.

The basic structures of the country remained the same, and another thirty years would pass before profound economic and social changes would take place in the country. One could say that the failure of the Spanish annexation (1861-1865) was the closing point of a century of pre-capitalist development in the eastern part of the island.

It is undeniable that the Cibao region developed quite differently from the south (Hoetink 1980). In the colonial period, the La Vega region had been the favored spot for agriculture, and in the 19th century it was to become the symbol of prosperity and economic development. The provinces of Santiago and La Vega are "mucho mas industriosas que las del Sur", wrote the Spaniard Mariano Torrente, who added that the region exported 80,000 *quintales* of tobacco in 1851.¹³ A local newspaper wrote a few years later: "Los Cibaenos [...] forman la porción mas importante de la República, por su riqueza territorial, por su industriosa actividad, por su adelantos materiales, por sus ideas progresistas..."¹⁴

Tobacco formed the focal point of an agricultural sector which depended on a more or less autonomous position of the peasant cultivators and on a regular European market. The northern Santiago-La Vega region became the center of a smallholding economy. In this period many people, lured by the economic opportunities it offered and eager to gain economic independence, migrated from the south to the Cibao. This flow of immigrants probably fomented the increase of the Cibao tobacco production, which took place between 1830 and 1850. Although peasant production continued to provide the major part of the Dominican tobacco production, many larger landowners and richer peasants started to cultivate tobacco with the purpose of export. Production techniques improved somewhat, and the quality of the Dominican tobacco was widely eulogized. In this period, the Dominican tobacco was often used as wrapper for Cuban cigars and a French diplomat who investigated the Dominican tobacco sector in 1849 wrote: "La capa [tobacco leaf] de Santo Domingo es mas rica y mas agradable a la vista que cualquier otra y ofrece una elasticidad perfecta y una buena resistencia" (Place 1979: 194).

TOBACCO AND POLITICS

This economic development also had political consequences. The regionalistic feelings of the Cibao population became stronger, and the conflicts with the central government sharpened. This confrontation culminated in 1857. The Cibao never came closer to separation from the southern region than in that year.

Discontent with the presidency of the southern general Buenaventura Baez had been fermenting in the tobacco community since his ascendancy to power in October, 1856. From May, 1857, this feeling sharpened when the government - with the approach of one of the best tobacco harvests of the century - put into circulation an extra 14 million paper *pesos* above the already issued 4 million. Government purchasers started immediately to buy huge amounts of tobacco for high prices. The mercantile class of the Cibao did not have the cash to compete effectively. The issuing of these uncovered *pesos* caused a tremendous inflation within weeks. When it became clear that the high prices the producers had received for their tobacco amounted to nothing, civil war was inevitable. Regional chauvinism and commercial resentment exploded in a furious and determined revolutionary movement. The 'Manifiesto de los pueblos del Cibao y de las causas que los han impulsado a reasumir sus derechos', signed by virtually all leading men of the Cibao, succinctly summed up the grievances. The arbitrary printing of paper money ranked first, but the regional frustration was hardly less outspoken. Looking back at some fourteen years of indepen-

dence, the undersigned complained about 'una serie de Administraciones tiranas y rapaces'. Their constitution 'no ha sido mas que los baculos del despotismo y de la rapiña'. The insurgents no longer recognized the Baez government and created a provisional government seated in Santiago de los Caballeros (Rodríguez Demorizi 1944: 365-8. Domínguez 1977: 160-1). A couple of months later, Baez fled to Curaçao.

This revolution is significant for more than one reason. It showed that political independence of the Dominican Republic did not solve the problem of political regionalism. The Cibao lived in constant friction with the central government and was tempted more than once to confront unfavorable intervention by the state. The most striking aspect of the revolutionary movement which pitted the Cibao against the government in Santo Domingo in 1857 was the strength of its regional consciousness. The revolutionaries were absolutely convinced of the legitimacy of their struggle and did not hesitate to stand up and defend their regional interests. More than once Santiago was proposed as alternative capital of the Republic.¹⁵

From another perspective, the 1857 revolution showed that important social changes had occurred in the Cibao. Lluberes (1973) has suggested that the popular mobilization in 1857 was the first social revolution of the country. It may be nearer the truth to conclude that it showed that a selfconscious commercial class had come into existence and entered into temporary alliances with the cultivators when their mutual interest, the tobacco economy, was threatened.

The 1857 revolution is especially interesting for its obvious relationship to the tobacco trade. In part, the revolution was a struggle of the tobacco interests in the Cibao against the *hateros* of the south. The revolution proved the importance for the regional economy of the yearly financial injection brought by the tobacco trade and, consequently, the economic distress which was the result of any obstacle to the smooth progress of the trade.

Nevertheless, the most significant outcome of the 1857 revolution was not its success but its eventual failure. After the flight of Buenaventura Baez, the revolutionaries did not succeed in consolidating their political position. Their financial and economic base remained too small to take the future of the country in their hands. It may well be that they did not even have such ambitions and that they were content to have safeguarded their regional autonomy. In any case, they relinquished the presidency to Pedro Santana in 1858, one of the staunchest representatives of the *hatero*-class, handing over political leadership of the country to the southern elite again. This proved to be a very short-sighted move and caused them to rebel again within a few years. Santana led the Dominican Republic into a Spanish annexation in 1861. The Cibao took up its arms once more to defend its interests and eventually chased away the Spaniards in 1865.

These events showed that the nascent export sector of tobacco in the Cibao was the basis for political mobilisation when its commercial operations were threatened. However, the regional elite lacked the political coherence - and perhaps the military strength - to maintain the political initiative after the economic grievances were removed. From the 1880s onwards, it therefore tried to defend its interests by joining the government and trying to influence legislation. This strategy probably began with the government of Ulises Heureaux (1882-1899), when many northern politicians were given important government positions. This created a growing gap between the cultivators and the mercantile community. In the 20th century, the exporters no longer looked for political support in the ranks of the cultivators but increasingly joined the state apparatus and became part of a regional establishment.

CONCLUSION

Spanish colonialism was characterized by a strong centralism. Colonial officials did all they could to maintain control over the economic system of their empire. However, they could not prevent autonomous processes of social and economic development taking place at a regional level. This meant not only that regions succeeded in keeping Spanish influence at bay but also that in some cases, regional economies created their own relationship with the Spanish and world markets. In the Spanish colony on Española this led to the creation of a tobacco economy in the north which maintained itself during three centuries. We have called this tobacco sector a 'counter-economy', because it existed in opposition to the Spanish colonial economy. Only during two short periods, 1610-1650 and 1765-1791, did the tobacco sector exist *within* the Spanish colonial system.

This Cibao peasant sector came into existence during three centuries of Spanish colonial neglect followed by another fifty years of peasantization (Machín 1973: 29). Because the majority of the cultivators were smallholders producing without capital and dependent on family labor, we may speak of a peasant sector. This sector was not the result of resistance to plantation agriculture as occurred in other parts of the Caribbean. Rather, the absence of a coherent economic policy of the Spanish authorities provided space for the rise of a peasant society producing in virtual autonomy. It consisted of a racially mixed population which developed its own cultural forms based on a dominant Spanish heritage. (Hoetink 1985: 58-61 speaks of a socioracial continuum.) This 'creole' peasantry - a type we may add to Mintz's now-famous typology of Caribbean peasantries (Mintz 1974) - formed the foundation of tobacco production in the Cibao.

The autonomous character of the tobacco sector did not mean isolation. In spite of its relative isolation within the Spanish colonial economy, the tobacco sector had multifarious commercial relations with the international market. The particular organization of the tobacco cultivation, and especially its combination with food-crop cultivation, gave a special character to these market relations. The survival of the tobacco growing peasants depended above all on their subsistence agriculture. They were therefore able to continue the production of tobacco even when the terms of trade were relatively unfavorable.

The expansion of the tobacco cultivation had important consequences for the region. It created a dynamic mercantile class in the cities. The merchants became an important social force who started to aspire to influence political decision making. In the 19th century, the Cibao population took up arms twice to defend its autonomy and increase its impact on national politics. These two goals were contradictory, however. The warfare succeeded in safeguarding the autonomy of the Cibao tobacco sector, but it had to relinquish national political influence. The most important characteristic of the tobacco sector was that it existed not *because of*, but *in opposition to*, the central state. Integration in national politics meant losing economic autonomy and vice versa.

NOTES

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1. Karen Spalding quotes Santo Domingo authorities writing in the 1570s: "with the enormous news of the riches of Peru, we are hard put to stop the people of this island and even all the surrounding areas ... because all the people are aroused with plans to go to that land" (1984: 119).

2. 1572 was the year of the first voyage of Sir Francis Drake. See: Parry & Sherlock 1971: 39; Andrews 1978: 134.

3. The work of the Chaunu's (1955-59) shows how the exclusive use of Spanish sources leads to an underestimation of the contraband trade.

4. The Governor of Caracas wrote in 1607 to the Spanish Crown: "Tobacco has been one of the chief factors causing these coasts to be so much frequented by pirates" (cited in Andrews 1978: 228).

5. In Costa Rica the same thing happened with the cacao beans (Seligson 1980: 17).

6. Peña Perez 1980: 165 and Lugo 1952: 109. This prohibition extended itself also to Venezuela and the other Islas Barloventas (Andrews 1978: 228).

7. We only have to remember the termination of the Manila-galleon in this respect (Schurz 1959). Braudel writes "It is commonplace to ridicule the laws of the Indies (...), that is the illusion that the Catholic Kings exerted any real authority on the other side of the Atlantic. I agree that they did not invariably get their way in these far-flung countries. But the royal will did achieve certain objectives ..." (Braudel 1982: 176).

8. Peña Perez considers the second half of the 17th century "[el] punto mas alto de la ruralización de la cultura" (1986: 183). For Puerto Rico, Quintero Rivera talks about a 'counter-plantation' society (1987: 127-30).

9. Also Moreau de Saint-Méry (1944: 98), who adds: "porque mezclado con otros tabacos, les comunica su calidad por el vigor de su savia".

10. The export figures during the six years of legitimate trade were as follows:

1771	5,384 <i>arrobos</i>	38 <i>libras</i>
1772	3,266 id.	22.5 id.
1773	11,403 id.	27 id.
1774	13,495 id.	50 id.
1775	8,592 id.	
1776	10,709 id.	3 id. (Sevilla Soler 1980: 114).

11. The equivalent of Pedrón's "12 a 14.000 *millares* de peso" (Pedrón 1955: 171). Ferran (1976: 39) omits these '*millares*'. Although this is an accident, he is probably right that Pedrón's figures are exaggerated.

12. See the entirely different figures in Marte (1984: 72) and Cassá (1980: II, 19).

13. Memoria de Mariano Torrente, 6-1-1853; in: Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), 3524, 66.

14. *Eco de Pueblo*, trim I, num.4, 17-8-1856.

15. See for instance the report of the French consul Saint-André on the events of 1857: "el norte, es decir el único punto donde se trabaja, podría poner en ejecución la amenaza que ha hecho muchas veces de separarse de Santo Domingo, y son los ingresos (del Cibao) que permiten a la República saldar sus gastos" (cited in Boin & Serulle Ramia 1981: 174).

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PLANTATION DEVELOPMENT IN BERBICE FROM 1753 TO 1779:
THE SHIFT FROM THE INTERIOR TO THE COAST

INTRODUCTION

During the eighteenth century, the former Dutch colony of Berbice was covered with plantations. The first plantations were constructed far from the mouth of the river, from which the colony takes its name, at points where they could not be reached by the tides. As dikes were not necessary, investments in construction were kept low (Glasgow 1970:10).

During the period from 1753 to 1779, the coastal regions grew in importance for the economic development of Berbice. This article sets out the reasons for the shift from the interior to the coast.

A number of authors have already described similar developments in neighbouring countries such as Suriname, Essequibo, Demerary and French Guiana.¹ All conclude that the exhaustion of the soil was the most important reason for the economic shift away from the interior to the coast. I would like to stress in this paper the importance of other developments that accelerated or even initiated the construction of new plantations near the coast. These developments were the availability of venture capital in the later part of the eighteenth century, the movements in the prices of commodities on the European market, and the differences in the labour requirements for the production of different crops.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF BERBICE

Before detailing these developments, I shall outline briefly the economic history of Berbice and sketch the development of its exports.

Like most other eighteenth-century colonies in the Caribbean, Berbice was a plantation economy in which slaves were used to produce tropical products for the West-European market. Its society was characterized by racial prejudice as well as a narrow-minded concentration by the white settlers on short-term economic profits (Mandle 1973: 8-12; Hoetink 1969:178).

The colony of Berbice was owned by a small private company not connected with the West India Company or the Society of Suriname. Bankers and traders from Amsterdam were the main shareholders in the Berbice Society. This Society provided the funds for a number of the colony's requirements, such as its administration and its defense; it also owned a number of large sugar plantations. The 1732 "Octrooi", or charter of Berbice, laid down the chief rules and regulations concerning administration, defense, trade and the position of the Berbice Society with respect to the States General of the Dutch Republic. The Society of Berbice allowed a large number of private plantations to be established in the colony. By 1761, 155 plantations were in private hands, and the Society owned 11.²

Even though statistical data are not available in abundance for Berbice, it is possible to reconstruct the export statistics on the basis of "Ladings-manifesten", or bills of lading.

A bill of lading is a document containing information on all products loaded in any single ship. Drawn up and signed by the ship's captain, it was submitted to the governor of Berbice each time a ship sailed from the colony. The governor regularly sent a collection of all these bills, accompanied by general information on the situation in the colony, to the directors of the Society in Amsterdam. This was probably to ensure that the trade regulations were strictly observed, as stipulated in the charter of the colony. All trade was to take place directly between the Republic and Berbice, and vice versa; ships were not permitted to visit foreign ports. The board of directors in Amsterdam could use the bills of lading to check whether all goods exported from Berbice had indeed arrived in the Republic.

One important question needs to be answered in this context. Do the bills of lading found in the archives represent all cargo ships which sailed from Berbice to Amsterdam?

A comparison of the names of the ships on the bills of lading with the names of the ships known to have left Berbice would be the best means of checking this. Unfortunately, there is no complete list containing such information. However, data from the journal kept at the Sint Andries Fortress covering the

years 1777, 1778 and 1779 seem to imply that the bills of lading do indeed cover all exports of the colony.³ Sint Andries was a small post near the coast where a regiment was stationed. One of its tasks was to register the departure and arrival of all ships.

A second method of evaluating the accuracy of the export data based on the bills of lading is to examine a list of all products imported in the Republic in one single year. As a trial year, 1778 has been chosen. According to the list for 1778, six ships left Berbice carrying 467 casks of sugar, 999 casks and 6,004 bags of coffee, 56 casks and 882 bags of cacao and 1,164 bales of cotton. These figures correspond exactly with those given in the six bills of lading drawn up in 1778.⁴

On this basis I have concluded that the bills of lading give an accurate picture of the export of tropical products from the colony to Amsterdam. I have counted the figures for each product given in all the bills of lading issued in one year. This means, for instance, that a ship which left Berbice in March 1765 carrying products harvested in 1764 has been included in the list for 1765. For this reason, 'top' and 'bottom' years do not provide a reliable picture of a year's production. Such figures should be seen in relation to the long-term trend.

As far as sugar is concerned, it is quantified on the bills of lading in terms of "Oxhoofden" or hogsheads. A hogshead is a cask in which sugar was transported and is not a standard weight. For comparative purposes, I converted hogsheads into pounds, using Oostindie's conversion figures for hogsheads in Suriname in the eighteenth century.⁵

Figures on the exports from Berbice are given in two tables. Table 1 sets out data on products exported by private plantations, and Table 2 displays the exports of the plantations owned by the Berbice Society. To understand the two tables, some additional information may be appropriate.

During 1763-1764, a great slave revolt occurred during which no goods were produced or exported. The conflict between blacks and whites reduced the slave population by almost one third. Prior to this insurrection, almost 2,623 slaves had worked on private plantations.⁶ By the time the Dutch re-established their authority, only 1,812 slaves lived and worked on private plantations.⁷ The destruction of buildings, neglect of cultivated land and lack of management on many plantations were dramatic. Settlers abandoned 57 out of 155 private plantations after the revolt.⁸

The figures indicate that the plantations owned by the Society of Berbice accounted for almost all sugar exports. Only one private plantation, known as "De Herstellling" and owned by one of the Society's directors,⁹ produced any sugar. The high level of capital investments required in this sector, particularly for the processing equipment, explains this virtual monopoly of sugar production

TABLE 1: EXPORTS OF BERBICE, PRIVATE PLANTATIONS 1753-1779

year	ships*		sugar (oxh.)(pounds)**	cacao (pounds)	coffee (pounds)	cotton (pounds)
	total	priv plant				
1753	4	4	58 (38,744)	616,190	65,067	33,218
1754	5	5	11 (7,348)	496,175	54,699	14,682
1755	4	4	66 (44,088)	335,346	46,475	31,663
1756	4	4	270 (180,360)	498,970	98,133	45,501
1757	4	4	99 (66,132)	531,820	91,342	61,686
1758	4	4	113 (75,484)	413,328	152,100	107,635
1759	5	5	34 (22,712)	520,811	130,517	158,256
1760	7	6	40 (26,720)	629,084	218,758	155,270
1761	4	3	30 (20,040)	311,467	130,763	101,957
1762	5	5	98 (65,464)	378,504	186,054	191,218
1763						
1764	1	0				
1765	2	2	42 (28,056)	109,066	7,956	30,990
1766	4	4	123 (82,164)	671,935	102,494	110,621
1767	4	4	70 (46,760)	511,534	122,734	119,582
1768	3	3	56 (37,408)	344,451	50,464	75,895
1769	3	3	135 (90,180)	196,330	163,599	103,325
1770	3	3	124 (90,396)	76,649	92,279	92,665
1771	3	3	46 (33,534)	229,752	211,116	73,178
1772	3	3	102 (74,358)	102,979	199,938	46,163
1773	3	3	49 (35,721)	75,308	305,356	49,906
1774	4	4	42 (30,618)	179,388	629,741	104,885
1775	5	4	15 (10,935)	233,940	706,920	87,290
1776	4	4	20 (14,580)	83,751	443,224	130,080
1777	5	5	60 (43,740)	85,061	1,447,879	173,114
1778	6	6	32 (23,328)	194,679	1,496,077	276,650
1779	7	7	70 (51,030)	142,210	1,558,925	264,187

* The totals of ships which left Berbice, loaded with products, are noted in the first column, ships which were loaded with products of private plantations are noted in the second one.

** With respect to sugar a conversion has been made to pounds, see note 5.

Sources: ARA, Sociëteit van Suriname 1.05.05-115 up to and including -165.
PRO, Colonial Office Papers, Berbice 116/106, -107, -119, -128, -129.

by the Berbice Society.¹⁰ Presumably, only the Society was capable of making such investments.

The main products exported by the private plantations were cacao, coffee and cotton. Except during the years of 1763 and 1764, cacao first recorded the highest export figures, in terms of weights produced, of the three. However,

TABLE 2: EXPORTS OF BERBICE, SOCIETY PLANTATIONS 1753-1779*

year	ships		sugar (oxh.)(pounds)	cacao (pounds)	coffee (pounds)	cotton (pounds)
	total					
		soc plant				
1753	4	2	730 (487,640)	20,618	4,909	-
1754	5	2	435 (290,580)	24,545	2,990	-
1755	4	2	350 (233,800)	13,250	3,505	-
1756	4	3	1150 (768,200)	16,876	6,914	-
1757	4	3	1003 (670,004)	23,835	4,509	0,445
1758	4	3	862 (575,816)	17,613	9,447	±4,250
1759	5	3	1098 (733,464)	20,420	4,137	7,857
1760	7	5	1450 (968,600)	25,873	19,030	7,698
1761	4	4	1076 (718,768)	21,414	4,022	5,808
1762	5	4	852 (569,136)	19,424	7,993	8,533
1763						
1764	1	1	40 (26,720)	2 baskets	-	2 bales
1765	2	2	250 (167,000)	8,975	0,537	2,762
1766	4	2	398 (265,864)	28,923	3,917	11,363
1767	4	3	375 (250,500)	26,007	1,057	14,783
1768	3	2	377 (251,836)	3,916	0,964	5,898
1769	3	1	245 (163,660)	7,433	0,499	5,198
1770	3	2	537 (391,471)	246	-	12,039
1771	3	3	555 (404,595)	3,323	3,012	24,938
1772	3	3	770 (561,330)	215	-	12,417
1773	3	3	859 (626,211)	-	2,064	13,685
1774	4	3	454 (330,966)	-	0,676	11,844
1775	5	4	920 (670,680)	2,967	0,951	14,466
1776	4	2	330 (240,570)	-	2,085	15,032
1777	5	2	432 (314,928)	-	5,848	7,006
1778	6	2	444 (323,676)	-	27,800	11,464
1779	7	3	400 (291,600)	1,373	13,860	14,291

(with respect to sugar a conversion has been made to pounds, see note 5)

* See legendum to Table 1.

Sources: ARA, Sociëteit van Suriname 1.05.05-115 up to and including -165.

PRO, Colonial Office Papers, Berbice 116/106, -107, -119, -128, -129.

coffee took over as the leading export crop in 1771, after which cacao exports remained relatively low. The change began in 1755, a year which saw the start of a slow but steady increase in coffee exports. There was a dip, obviously resulting from the slave revolt in 1763, which did not last long. In 1772, the production and export of coffee accelerated. A similar development can be

observed for cotton, although growth in the seventies was steady rather than explosive.

The latter trends in the exports from Berbice in the eighteenth century are not incidental. The nineteenth century saw a continuous decline in exports of cacao, leading to a complete standstill by 1831 (Ragatz 1963: 23). Exports of coffee and cotton continued to rise until 1810, followed by decline (Adamson 1972: 25).

REGIONAL PATTERNS

The shift from the interior to the coast can be demonstrated by a regional analysis of exports. The distribution of exports on a regional basis is shown in Table 3. Regional differences become more evident when the relative impor-

TABLE 3: REGIONAL EXPORTS OF BERBICE, PRIVATE PLANTATIONS 1758-1774 (FIVE-YEAR AVERAGES, IN POUNDS).

	cacao	coffee	cotton
Benedendivisie:			
1758 - 1762	4,648	20,790	5,545
1763 - 1764			
1765 - 1769	2,412	15,822	5,513
1770 - 1774	5,724	87,596	2,370
Hoofddivisie:			
1758 - 1762	133,669	75,670	81,418
1763 - 1764			
1765 - 1769	152,491	43,266	49,604
1770 - 1774	40,697	92,166	52,444
Bovendivisie:			
1758 - 1762	37,212	38,993	40,528
1763 - 1764			
1765 - 1769	38,413	21,925	17,538
1770 - 1774	4,416	41,301	9,274
Canjedisivisie:			
1758 - 1762	252,848	25,282	26,215
1763 - 1764			
1765 - 1769	169,311	6,705	17,924
1770 - 1774	81,444	44,788	10,068

Sources: ARA, Sociëteit van Suriname 1.05.05-115 up to and including -165.
PRO, Colonial Office Papers, Berbice 116/106, -107, -119, -128, -129.

TABLE 4: REGIONAL EXPORTS OF BERBICE, PRIVATE PLANTATIONS 1758-1774 (PROPORTIONAL SHARES IN TOTAL EXPORTS, FIVE-YEAR AVERAGES).

	cacao	coffee	cotton
Benedendivisie:			
1758 - 1762	1	13	4
1763 - 1764			
1765 - 1769	1	18	6
1770 - 1774	4	33	3
Hoofddivisie:			
1758 - 1762	31	47	53
1763 - 1764			
1765 - 1769	42	49	55
1770 - 1774	31	35	71
Bovendivisie:			
1758 - 1762	9	24	26
1763 - 1764			
1765 - 1769	10	25	19
1770 - 1774	3	15	12
Canjedivisie:			
1758 - 1762	59	16	17
1763 - 1764			
1765 - 1769	47	8	20
1770 - 1774	62	17	14

Sources: ARA, Sociëteit van Suriname 1.05.05-115 up to and including -165.

PRO, Colonial Office Papers, Berbice 116/106, -107, -119, -128, -129.

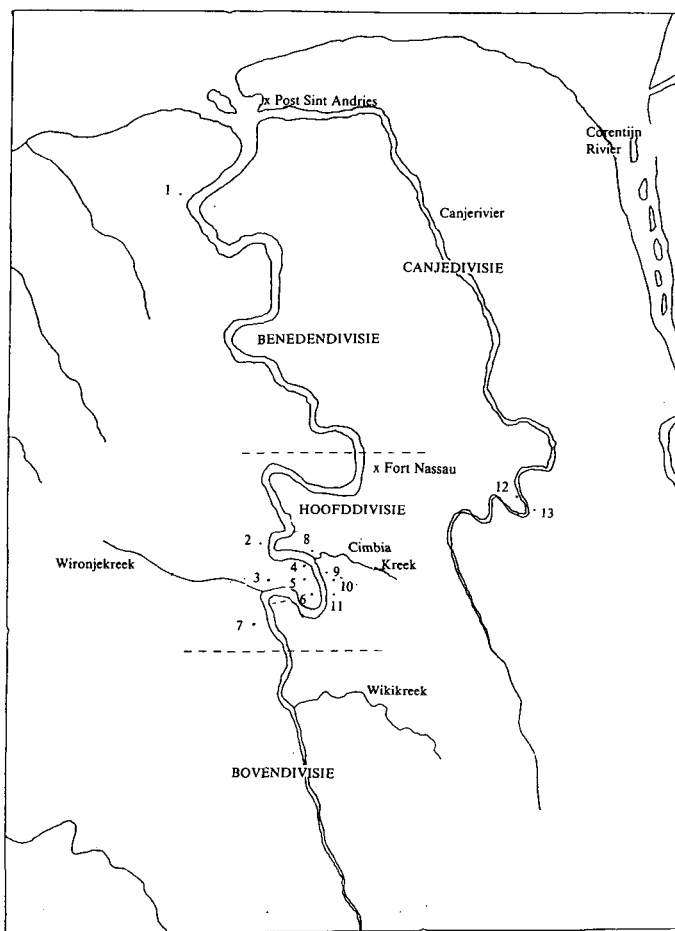
Table 3.

tance of each region is taken into account. These relative regional shares are presented in Table 4.

Production in the "Benedendivisie", or lowland division, centered on coffee. The development of coffee exports from this region followed the general trend indicated above. Coffee exports declined only after the slave revolt (although, relative to other regions, the share of the "Benedendivisie" rose from 13 to 18 percent). In the years 1770-1774, this region accounted for 33 percent of total coffee exports, with nearly 88,000 pounds of coffee leaving the "Benedendivisie" each year.

Private plantations in the "Hoofddivisie", or major division, produced large quantities of cacao, coffee and cotton. Relative to the other regions, the "Hoofddivisie" produced a large share of total exports from Berbice. Cotton production was centered almost entirely in this region. In the periods of 1758-1762 and 1765-1769, 50 percent of all Berbice coffee exports originated from

MAP 1: THE COLONY OF BERBICE, ca 1773



list of mentioned plantations:

- | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. De Dageraad | 8. Mon Repos | 12. La Providence |
| 2. West Souburg | 9. Zeelandia | 13. Magdalenenburg |
| 3. Essendam | 10. Sint Elizabeth | |
| 4. Leliënborg | 11. Alexandria | |
| 5. Hollandia | | |
| 6. Juliana | | |
| 7. Pereboom | | |

Source: Blair 1984: 57.

the "Hoofddivisie"; the share of cacao exports rose from 31 to 41 percent. After 1770, both cacao and coffee exports declined.

Before the slave revolt of 1763, the "Bovendivisie" or highland division produced an annual 40,000 pounds of cacao, coffee and cotton. During the next five years, exports of cacao remained at a constant level, yet declined sharply after 1769. Apart from a relative decrease in the years after the revolt, exports of coffee continued at a level of 40,000 pounds a year. The relative importance of the "Bovendivisie" decreased slowly over the years.

The fourth region was the "Canjedivisie", named after a tributary of the Berbice River. This region traditionally accounted for the largest share of cacao exports. In spite of a decline in cacao exports from 250,000 pounds in the period 1765-1769 to 80,000 pounds in the period 1770-1774, the region's share of exports remained at 60 percent. The trend in coffee exports mirrored the general trend for Berbice as a whole. A decline from 25,000 to 7,000 pounds after the revolt was followed by a recovery to almost 45,000 pounds.

A number of conclusions may now be drawn. Cacao, the most important export product of Berbice in the years before the slave insurrection, was produced mainly on plantations in the "Canjedivisie" and the "Hoofddivisie". Decrease in the production of cacao in the "Canjedivisie," in particular, accounted for the fall in cacao exports after the revolt.

The figures for the regional trend in exports show that the "Canjedivisie" and the "Benedendivisie" were primarily responsible for the shift from cacao to coffee production. Their shares in the total exports of coffee increased while those of the other regions declined.

For cotton, the data on the regional trends in exports correspond with the trend for Berbice as a whole. Only in the 1770-1774 period did the production of cotton in the "Hoofddivisie" differ from other regions; cotton production increased in this particular region. Perhaps a shift toward both the production of coffee and cotton compensated for the declining cacao production. Cotton can be produced on less fertile land (*Kortbondige beschrijving* 1763: 32). Possibly, the abandoned cacao plantations in the "Hoofddivisie" were subsequently used for the cultivation of cotton.

Other data besides export figures may shed light on the significance of the respective regions for the general economic development of Berbice. The number of slaves and plantations in the four different regions may be calculated, although these figures (presented in table 5) have no absolute validity.

The information derived from taxation documents cannot be used to calculate the exact number of slaves.

TABLE 5: BERBICE PLANTATIONS AND SLAVES, FIGURES BY REGION 1740-1782.

years	Benedendivisie			Hoofddivisie			Bovendivisie			Canjedivisie		
	pl.	slaves	A.sl.	pl.	slaves	A.sl.	pl.	slaves	A.sl.	pl.	slaves	A.sl.
1740	21			39			33			20		
1749	8	171	35	40	592	75,5	42	403	66	21	300,5	23
1753	9	168	34,5	44	658,5	104,5	55	505	69	31	380,5	26
1757	9			49			43			42		
1760	6	278	18	45	934	90,5	37	543,5	65	30	470,5	40
1761	10			49			45			51		
1762	6	367,5	26	44	1091,5	81,5	39	602	57,5	37	561,5	38,5
1764	9			39			38			36		
1764	11			48			48			53		
1771	16	350	0	41	1190	20	20	404	8	40	653,5	8
	(+10 tax free)									(+11 tax free)		
1771	31			47			23			71		
1774	27	1390		26	1797		19	657		39	1738	
1779	30	1618		34	1418		14	563		40	1651	
1782	37	1357		28	1289		13	555		33	2117	

Abbreviations: pl. - plantations
 sl. - African and Afro-American slaves
 A.sl. - Amerindian slaves
 map - map collection
 w.p. - without page number

Sources: ARA, Sociëteit van Berbice 1.05.05.

ARA, Collectie Fagel 1.10.29.

ARA, Map collection VEL.

PRO, Colonial Office Papers, Berbice.

1740: ARA map VEL 1569, 1749: ARA 1.05.05-101/109, 1753: ARA 1.05.05-117/20, 1757: ARA 1.05.05-128/w.p., 1760: ARA 1.05.05-129/181, 1761: ARA 1.05.05-131/198, 1762: ARA 1.10.29-1824, 1764: ARA 1.05.05-135/147, 1764: ARA map VEL 1571, 1771: PRO 116-129/151, 1771: ARA map VEL 1572, 1774: ARA 1.10.29-1825, 1779: ARA 1.05.05-166/11, 1782: ARA 1.05.05-343.

The data available represent only minimum figures; slaves aged between 3 and 10 years were assessed for income tax purposes as representing half the figure for older slaves.¹¹ Secondly, the maps which were collected show abandoned plantations in addition to ones that were actually in operation at the time (Kramer 1986: 38). The resulting figures can therefore be used only cautiously for analyzing long-term trends.

Nevertheless, the picture presented by the trend in the number of slaves and plantations supports the evidence on regional trends in exports from Berbice. In the first part of the eighteenth century, economic activity was concentrated in

the "Bovendivisie" and the "Hoofddivisie". The majority of plantations were constructed in these areas. In the seventies, the coastal area became more important. There was a dramatic rise in the number of slaves working on plantations in both the "Benedendivisie" and the "Canjedivisie".

EXPLAINING THE SHIFT

The evidence for the shift from the interior to the coast has been set out in some detail. Why did it occur? Most authors claim that exhaustion of the soil was the main factor behind the shift from the interior to the coast. I would suggest other factors also played an important role.

Changes in the prices of tropical products on the European market may have led to crop substitution, especially where the new crop needed new fertile land (see Tables 6 and 7). This point must be carefully considered, since clearly the flexibility for changing production is low. One reason for this may have been the distance between Amsterdam and Berbice, which made rapid communication impossible. More importantly, the immobilization of vast amounts of capital in the plantations may explain a relative lack of flexibility (Emmer 1980: 8-12).

Nevertheless, some reaction to price fluctuations is apparent. After a number of years, there was a change from cacao to coffee production, probably due to developments in prices on the European market. The price of coffee was generally considered to be far more stable over the long term than the price of other crops; hence owners of coffee plantations would stand a better chance of earning a fixed revenue from their plantations. Price levels may have been a factor in the decision to produce new crops on new land.

A second element should also be mentioned. The production of coffee requires more capital, both financial and human, than the production of cacao.¹² Coffee requires more slaves and more time to harvest than cacao (Hartsinck 1770: 52-3; Van Stipriaan 1982: 12).

The flow of capital is a third important element in the economic development of Berbice. Interestingly, the change to the production of coffee coincided with new financial investments in Berbice. In the eighteenth century, the bankers and traders in Amsterdam were making vast profits. One presumed way of increasing their revenues was to invest these profits through granting loans to plantation owners in the West Indies. From 1766 to 1775, the plantation owners in Berbice borrowed almost 1,596,218 guilders (Van der Voort 1973: 180).

Possibly, the increased financial flow to Berbice was related to a concentration of plantations in the hands of rich traders and bankers. In 1762, there were 155 private plantations in Berbice, with 96 different owners or combinations of owners.¹³ At least 2,623 slaves worked on these plantations. In 1774, 85

TABLE 6: PRICES OF TROPICAL PRODUCTS AT THE AMSTERDAM EXCHANGE MARKET 1753-1779 (FIVE-YEAR AVERAGES, GUILDERS A POUND).

period	sugar	cacao	coffee	cotton
1753-1757	0,18	0,32	0,46	0,85
1758-1762	0,21	0,61	0,37	-
1763-1764				
1765-1769	0,15	0,52	0,46	1,13
1770-1774	0,15	0,46	0,46	0,76
1775-1779	0,21	0,31	0,31	1,10

Source: Posthumus 1943: 125-8, 186-7, 197-9, 285-7.

TABLE 7: EXPORTS OF BERBICE, PRIVATE PLANTATIONS, 1753-1779 (FIVE YEARLY AVERAGES, POUNDS).

period	sugar	cacao	coffee	cotton
1753-1757	67,193	495,700	71,143	37,350
1758-1762	41,996	450,639	163,638	148,628
1763-1764				
1765-1769	56,794	366,663	89,083	88,083
1770-1774	52,795	132,815	287,686	73,359
1775-1779	28,652	147,928	1,130,605	186,264

Source: table 1.

With respect to sugar see note 5.

individuals or groups owned 104 private plantations employing 5,582 slaves. Thus fewer planters owned fewer plantations during this period but employed more slaves. By 1774, residents of Amsterdam owned 44 plantations, some 40% of the total.¹⁴

Further research might relate this fact with some degree of certainty to specific aspects of the economic development of Berbice. For instance, it is not known whether the capital flow was used to buy new slaves, build new plantations or repay debts. Similarly, data on the details of increased debts are missing. On the basis of the evidence presently at hand, it is not possible to evaluate the importance of plantation loans.

It is, however, striking that the increased level of investment in Berbice coincided with higher coffee exports and a growing slave population. It might be interesting to compare the developments of capital flow and investments in Berbice with developments in other colonies. The economic circumstances in neighbouring Suriname, one of the other Dutch colonies, are much the same, so noting the opinions of historians with respect to plantation loans in Suriname is useful. In Suriname, the new investments were used for building new plan-

tations. Van Stipriaan points: "In the third quarter of that [eighteenth] century, when an abundance of capital in the Netherlands led to large scale investments in the Suriname plantation economy, almost three quarters of this capital flow was invested in the coffee sector. Within just a few years at least 150 new coffee plantations were laid out." (Van Stipriaan 1989: 95). A new group of planters used the abundance of capital in consumption, speculation and sometimes fraud. In contrast, Emmer concludes that the flow of capital to Suriname did not lead to an increase in exports to the Dutch Republic. He concludes that the investments were not used for building new plantations but for buying new slaves and employing them on old plantations (Emmer 1980: 472). I suspect that the conclusions of Van Stipriaan, who used more numerical data, are correct.

The developments in Berbice of capital inflow and growing coffee exports ran only partially parallel to developments in Suriname. Capital was used for building new coffee plantations in both colonies. However, only in Berbice did these investments result in growing exports of coffee.

Taking the above into consideration, we may now safely conclude that new investors employed their money in the construction of new coffee plantations and the purchase of slaves, especially in the coastal areas. This capital input made a crucial contribution to the economic development of the coastal regions of Berbice. Therefore, the shift from the interior to the coast was not initiated solely as a response to the exhaustion of the soil in the older production areas.

ABBREVIATIONS

ARA Algemeen Rijksarchief, Den Haag
 RAZ Provinciaal Rijksarchief Zeeland, Middelburg
 PRO Public Record Office, London

NOTES

1. Netscher 1888: 259-60, Velzing 1979: 57, Goslinga 1985: 314, Van Stipriaan 1989: 95, Oostindie 1989.
2. ARA, Sociëteit van Berbice 1.05.05-131/198.
3. ARA, Sociëteit van Berbice 1.05.05-165/67+163, -166/95+96 (journal). ARA, Sociëteit van Berbice 1.05.05-164/225, -165/2+4+11+105+188+192 (bills of lading). ARA, Sociëteit van Berbice 1.05.05-162/188, -164/177+178 (journal). ARA, Sociëteit van Berbice 1.05.05-162/65+133+204, -163/78+136, -164/26 (bills of lading). ARA, Sociëteit van Berbice 1.05.05-162/129+130+131 (journal). ARA, Sociëteit van Berbice 1.05.05-160/122+228+194, -161/4+76 (bills of lading).

4. RAZ, Middelburgse Commercie Compagnie 1567. ARA, Sociëteit van Berbice 1.05.05-162/65+133+204, -163/78+136, -164/26.
5. Oostindie (1989: 434, appendix 4) provides the following weights: 1 hogshead 1745 - 1769 = 330 kg, 1 hogshead 1770 = 360 kg, 1 Amsterdam's pound = 0.494 kg.
6. ARA, Collectie Fagel 1.10.29-1824.
7. ARA, Sociëteit van Berbice 1.05.05-135/142, -155/118. Netscher 1888: 191, 241-42.
8. Van Dorren 1948: 295, 307, 310-313. ARA, Sociëteit van Berbice 1.05.05-131/188+198, -132/22+135, -133/140, -135/147.
9. The grant of a plot of land for the reconstruction of a plantation named the "Herstelling" was given on 6 November 1760 to Adriaan van Alderwereld, Louis Michel and Willem Busch. In 1765, Adriaan van Alderwereld sold his share to Daniel Loof. Two years later, Willem Busch sold his share to Josua van Ouderkerk, who had been one of the directors of the Society of Berbice since 1738. (ARA, Sociëteit van Berbice 1.05.05-535. PRO, Colonial Office Papers, Berbice 116-79. Hartsinck 1770: 519.)
10. Kortbondige beschrijving 1703: 32-3. ARA, Sociëteit van Suriname 1.05.03-535. Glasgow 1970: 23.
11. ARA, Sociëteit van Berbice 1.05.05-219/267.
12. ARA, Sociëteit van Suriname 1.05.03-535.
13. ARA, Sociëteit van Berbice 1.05.05-135/142.
14. ARA, Collectie Fagel 1.10.29-1825. According to Emmer (1980: 472), "the new investments were used for repaying debts and buying new slaves in order to promote production on old plantations".

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BOOK REVIEWS

The literate imagination: essays on the novels of Wilson Harris. MICHAEL GILKES (ed.). London: Macmillan, 1989. xvi + 180 pp. (Paper UK £9.95)

The publication of the papers of a 1986 symposium on the novels of Wilson Harris held at the Centre for Caribbean Studies at the University of Warwick represents a consecration by academe of the novelist from Guyana. The major question posed by Harris's fictional practice - and perhaps still more by his critical essays - is, as J. Poynting put it in the symposium: "the nature of the relationship between socio-political concerns and their realisation in the 'realistic' elements of the narrative or 'history' and the philosophical and spiritual idealism and its realisation as fable, allegory or commentary" (p. 105).

In his own talk at the symposium, reproduced here as "Literacy and the Imagination ..." (pp. 13-30), Wilson Harris addressed the issue more directly than is his custom: "The way I diverge from the post-modernists ... is that the post-modernists have discarded depth, they have discarded the unconscious, thus all they are involved in is a game ..., whereas what I am saying is not just a game. I am convinced that there is a tradition in depth *which returns, which nourishes us even though it appears to have vanished*, and that it creates a fiction in the ways in which the creative imagination comes into dialogue with clues of revisionary moment. The spectral burden of vanishing and re-appearing is at the heart of the writer's task" (p. 27). Nonetheless, one understands how the best Wilson Harris scholars might have some difficulty agreeing on the thrust of central terms like *carnival* and *allegory* in the face of such oblique language as: "The thread of New World's carnival *subversive (not escapist)* strategy revisits dimensions of allegory. *Subversive* in that the museum configuration associated with allegory, is overturned. New World subversive carnival may become an invaluable asset in the creation of a vital, modern

allegory" (p. 28). Hena Maes-Jelinek, who wrote the first book-length study of Harris for the Twayne World Authors Series, in 1982, takes a second look at Harris's use of *carnival* in her paper entitled "'Carnival' and creativity in Wilson Harris's fiction" (pp. 45-61). She makes basic modifications to her earlier view of "Bakhtine's analysis of the liberating power of carnival [with respect to] Harris's fiction," pointing out that Bakhtine underestimates carnival's "possible hardening into an uncompromising absolute ..." (p. 61). Russell McDougall's contribution (pp. 152-71) is, on the other hand, fairly typical of the earlier view of Bakhtine, the carnivalization of experience as positive relativization of Caribbean culture, that Maes-Jelinek now questions. Hena Maes-Jelinek fruitfully associates Harris's allegorizing fiction with Dante and, through the *Divine comedy*, with the bible; this line of investigation is likely to stimulate new research.

Andrew Benjamin looks in the direction of Nietzsche's *Will to power* for help in understanding the positivity of the "crumbling narrative" in *The eye of the scarecrow* (1965), finding in the novel "a process of regeneration and transformation" (p. 83). His attempt to link Harris's effort to overcome the reductions of nihilism to Nietzsche's circular notion of time proves stimulating, if not altogether convincing. Stephanos Stephanides examines another vision of time in *The far journey of Oudin* (1961) in terms of "the structure of the Kali Puja as a religious folk drama whose mythic, symbolic, and ritual language is directed to undermining the conventional sense of polarity and opposition inherent in the assumptions of the temporal world and transgressing the divisions of consciousness and identity" (p. 129). Without attempting to establish the "Madrasi tradition of worship of the Mother Goddess in Guyana" as a historical point of origin in Harris's fiction, Stephanides at the very least suggests remarkable parallels. Wilson Harris's active interest in esoteric doctrines is well known, however, and it is probable that therein lies the origin of the similarities between his explorations of non-linear time and "the Hermetic tradition and Tantrism" (p. 131).

Gregory Shaw, in "The novelist as shaman: art and dialectic in the work of Wilson Harris" (pp. 141-51) appears convinced that the same narrative phenomena, which he describes as "progressive or incremental [cycles] representing (... in [Harris's] own words) 'a deepening cycle of exploration'" (p. 142), are fundamentally Hegelian in their conception. He presents good biographical evidence that Harris, as a Guyanese surveyor, "never went into the bush unless he was armed with several volumes of Hegel" (p. 146). The textual evidence he adduces is likewise plausible and calls for further examination. Shaw is in tune with Maes-Jelinek when he describes the novelist as a "colonial who drank liberally from the fount of Western literature and ideas" (p. 145), but he may tend to reduce Harris's vision too exclusively to that Western pole of

the imagination in his effort to combat "the myth ... of a writer who ventured into the South American heartland, experienced a spiritual vision of some sort and returned to tell the world" (p. 141).

The question of the weight of (Western) tradition on Harris's fictional allegories is central to Mark McWatt's examination of "The Madonna/whore: womb of possibilities" (pp. 31-44). There is no use belaboring the obvious: McWatt states in his opening pages that his use of female archetypes *as archetypes* flies in the face of feminist theory. Wilson Harris so manifestly relies on these very archetypes – often in their biblical form: C(h)rist(o), Magda(len) – that McWatt has an easy time of it. "Magda's whoredom is ... a powerful functional symbol within the novel [*The whole armour*] as its values radiate outward from her to taint all levels of the community. Abram, the father figure, is tainted by his own traffic with Magda" (p. 39). Nor is McWatt wrong to relate these creations to Northrop Frye's Christ-centered archetypology. Harris invites the reader to do so, it would seem. The issue for future critics of Wilson Harris's fiction comes clear in this symposium: to what extent does he in fact transcend the constraints on the imagination in which the colonial writer initially comes to consciousness as a writer?

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Drinkers, drummers, and decent folk: ethnographic narratives of village Trinidad. JOHN O. STEWART. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1989. xviii + 230 pp. (Paper US \$12.95, Cloth US \$39.50)

This book, by a Trinidadian anthropologist and writer, aims "to record and delineate life in rural Trinidad" through a combination of "ethnography and fiction grounded in fieldwork" (Manners's "Foreword", pp. xi, xv-xvi). This aim arises from a dissatisfaction with the deficiency of "most current ethnographic writing ... in dealing with the inner lives of people" (p. 12); a deficiency reflecting both the constraints of the scientifically objective monograph and the fieldwork tradition of viewing the people studied as "strangers," "natives" and "others" (pp. 4, 9).

This tradition is especially constraining for the author who, as an American-based anthropologist drawn into recurrent fieldwork in Trinidadian society, grapples with the paradox of being both a stranger and a familiar in his native

culture (p. 17). The paradox strikes a familiar chord with this reviewer, a British-based Jamaican who has conducted long-term fieldwork in Jamaica. Moreover, although the challenge inherent in this paradox is most acute for "Third World" anthropologists, it is becoming increasingly relevant for metropolitan "outsider" ethnographers (cf. Mintz 1989).

In his ethnographic narratives of village Trinidad, John Stewart seeks to resolve the constraints of traditional ethnography by drawing on the fictive mode. He argues (p. 13) that "Ethnography that embraces the subjective ... should be recognized as standing some place between, perhaps functioning as a link ... between objective ethnography and imaginative literature." This approach has parallels with the use of oral history, by both "native" and "outsider" anthropologists, as a bridge between anthropology and history in the study of Caribbean societies.

Stewart's stories focus on Black ("creole") and Indian villagers in south-east Trinidad, over the period from World War II to the 1970s. They aim to explore how the villagers negotiated space within a so-called "plural society," and so to serve as a critique of "the theory of social and cultural pluralism as applied to Caribbean society" (p. 219). The author also seeks to uncover how the villagers created and refreshed their lives through their "values, relationships, and performances" (p. 24); and thus to reveal the dynamic process of "indigenization" (or Caribbean cultural creation) in contrast to received interpretations of Trinidadian culture in terms of passive African and Indian cultural retention.

A short overview of Trinidadian society and culture, and of the fieldwork village context (pp. 20-24) identifies contrasting Black and Indian traditions regarding the acquisition of material wealth as strategies of "indigenization." Contrasting religious traditions in the village are also identified. Shared traditions however also integrate the villagers, such as a common belief in magic; paradoxical commitments to egalitarianism and opportunism; and a mode of livelihood straddling proletarian and peasant, and incorporating occupational multiplicity. National and international forces affecting village life include a history of colonialism, slavery and indenture; the oil and sugar industries; urbanization and migration; and the Second World War and post-war change. Brief commentaries between the stories also highlight background points, such as the process of cultural transformation manifested in the Afro-Trinidadian Shango cult (pp. 155-58). A short "Afterword" draws together the author's theoretical perspective on ethnography and the fictive mode.

The ethnographic narratives elaborate these themes through reflections of everyday life in village Trinidad. "Small victories" (pp. 25-37) juxtaposes the village and plantation; and focuses on the negotiation of ethnicity among Indian, Black, Chinese and Portuguese. Magico-religious beliefs are reflected in the themes of magical causation and the wake. Conjugal relations are also explored.

In "Shadows in the moonlight" (pp. 41-65), village, sugar plantation and cocoa forest are background themes; as are the War, urbanization and migration. Conjuality, class and color, church and rum-shop, and the constraints of poverty on access to education also feature in the narrative. "After the rain" (pp. 77-106) returns to the negotiation of ethnicity among Indian, Black and Chinese; and the impact of the plantation system on the villagers. The interrelationship of social mobility, migration and education is also considered. "Bad blood" (pp. 113-30) highlights the sociability of both court days in the town and the storytelling tradition. Carnival, the oilfields and the canefields are also background themes. "The community center" (pp. 135-53) focuses on national and village politics, and ethnic conflict and co-operation; with continuity and change being reflected in the traditions of the *gayap* (co-operative labor) and the wake on the one hand, and the post-war development of village amenities on the other. "When Oya dances" (pp. 159-76) juxtaposes church and cult, and highlights the Shango drummer. "I witness" (pp. 181-215) further explores the impact of "development" on village life, illustrated through both the tourist industry and the scientific theory of "Behavior modification" as debated by the villagers in relation to the village "madman."

Stewart's narratives are perceptive and effective illustrations of the integration of ethnography and the fictive mode. Their theoretical significance for Caribbean anthropology could, however, have been more fully and explicitly addressed. For example, the critique of the plural society thesis could have been developed; and the parallels, in both the title theme and the individual stories, with Wilson's (1969, 1973) theory of "reputation" and "respectability" could have been identified and explored. Significant examples of Caribbean culture-building, such as the Afro-Caribbean institution of "family land" and the symbolism of the Caribbean peasant custom of burying the afterbirth in the yard (pp. 56, 181), could likewise have been considered (cf. Besson 1984a, 1987a; Mintz 1974: 225-50).

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Behind the planter's back. NEIL PRICE. London: Macmillan, 1988. xiv + 274 pp. (Paper UK £9.95)

Price's ethnography of Lower Bay, a village on the Eastern Caribbean island of Bequia, appears in the Warwick University Caribbean Studies series whose charge includes the annual publication of a community study. It joins what is by now a long list of anthropological studies of the most diminutive of the Caribbean islands, tiny dependencies of what are themselves small island-states. This is the third anthropological account of communities in the Grenadines (cf. Smith 1962; Hill 1977), and there is much in the other two studies, both about the minuscule Grenadian island of Carriacou, that bears directly on the Lower Bay situation. Neither monograph is ever mentioned. Nor is there any stated purpose for writing the book except that it "explores lower class responses to the marginality produced and reproduced by the penetration of capitalism" (p. xii), a theme that has been examined in countless studies in the Caribbean and elsewhere. The author is also silent about his field and analytical techniques except for a statement that he was in the field "between March 1980 and June 1981," supplemented by a couple of anecdotes about difficult encounters with some island residents. We learn how big the study community is (333 people in 1980) only from Appendix II which is not even referred to in the body of the text.

Price maintains that he is positioning Bequia within the larger context of "the world capitalist system," but fails to situate it properly within the historical and

structural field most immediately relevant to it, namely the larger nation of St. Vincent and the Grenadines. It may well be that "[mainland] Vincentians ... are overtly recognized as, and accused of, taking jobs from Bequarians ..." (p. 47), but such assertions and a few examples of political neglect neither demonstrate that "... the interests of foreign capitalists and powerful classes in Bequia are secured by playing different groups of workers, or potential workers, off against each other (e.g. Vincentians against Bequarians ...) (p. 48), nor are they a substitute for a full analysis of the relation between mainland and satellite. The book is full of such generalizations that have no empirical support.

The monograph is organized in traditional Caribbean ethnographic fashion. There are chapters on the economic history of Bequia from European settlement to the present, "a sociological profile" of the island's eight communities, a description of the island's seven-layer class hierarchy, descriptions and case studies of work in the tourist, construction, fishing, petty-commodity, agriculture and merchant sailing sectors. There are two chapters on kinship and household organization, the second of which also includes a discussion of friendship, followed by chapters on "lower class culture" and social change. The book ends with a six-page summary.

Much of the description has a familiar ring to it. Although we have heard it all before it is still nice to learn that the main outline of social and economic organization are much the same on Bequia as elsewhere in the Afro-Caribbean. Less comforting are the many errors of ethnographic fact and the misuse of creole terms. It is simply false, for example, that "At puberty the young [Bequarian] person is considered fully responsible for his/her moral, social, and sexual behaviour" (p. 167); nor is it true that on Bequia "The term 'Mistress' together with the surname is employed in addressing the senior female member of any household" (p. 198). More disconcerting still is the author's remarkable ignorance of the Caribbean literature dealing with class, kinship, community, and ideology. Thirty-year-old interpretations of matrifocality are proposed as if the author has discovered them for the first time ("... female-headed households allow women to maximize their chances of material survival ..." [p. 100]), as are well-known explanations of occupational multiplicity (which is never labelled as such), family land, and parental role replacement.

The descriptive material is nearly always superficial, usually disconnected, and often incoherent. The core chapter on the village economy, which "presents empirical material on work activities amongst the lower classes in Lower Bay, and attempts to locate Lower Bay economy historically and structurally within the wider context of the island and international division of labour" (p. 53), does no such thing. There are no data here or elsewhere on the critical issue of the distribution and transformation of land holdings among villagers and other Bequarians - a little archival work in the courthouse on the mainland would

have given Price the kind of data his analysis is crying for. Nor is there any discussion of overall incomes or levels of living or of how economic activities form an integrated or viable economic complex. Suggestions of increased pauperization are a constant theme in this and other chapters, but no good evidence for it is presented save a few remarks from informants - should we really expect Bequarians to be different from the most other people and not say that they are worse off now than they used to be?

The analysis of social stratification contains little analytical or empirical justification for the divisions that are made or much evidence of the presence of "the exploiting *ex-planter/merchant class*, which is politically, economically and ideologically dominant ..." (p. 50). Local community economic differentiation is glossed over in a couple of pages, and we are left with a class analysis with both ends cut off.

Price chooses a Marxist approach for his theoretical framework. But there is no Marxist *analysis* here, just a thick, sloppy coat of rhetorical jargon. If there is a theory that informs some of the data, it is the "culture of poverty" because Price insists that the way of life of lower-class Bequarians is characterized by behavioral deviance, deprivation and frustration, discourse suppression, and ideological subordination. But even this alliance between data and theory soon breaks down, not only because we know the explanatory weaknesses of the culture of poverty in the Caribbean and elsewhere, but also because it is opposed by the author's own case-study, anecdotal, and verbatim informant reports that all emphasize the people's strength, liveliness, creative independence, and resilience in the face of what is probably considerable material hardship.

The book originated as the author's Ph.D. dissertation. Many theses are subsequently published but they first have to be transformed into a book. This parody of their paradigm will not be well received by Marxist anthropologists and it would be unfortunate if non-Marxists were to see it as an example of what this sophisticated and powerful theoretical framework has to offer to Caribbean ethnography.

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Santería: an African religion in America. JOSEPH M. MURPHY. Boston: Beacon Press, 1988. xi + 189 pp. (Paper US \$10.95)

Maria and Madrina take my arms and bring
me through the crowd. It is suddenly hot
and close, and I am panting for breath.
Maria is pressing my shoulders very
hard, and Madrina is blowing and
speaking in my ear. I am a bit
breathless ...

'It's okay,' says Maria. 'You just
got your signals crossed.'

'It was a dream,' says Madrina
softly. 'But Shango is speaking to you.
Will you listen now?'

Likely not many assistant professors of theology can claim to have been seized by the African *orisha* of thunder, lightning, and force, so by the time Joseph Murphy describes his recovery from a possession experienced in the basement of a Bronx tenement his credentials to write about Santería, the way of the saints, are firmly established. The occasion is a *bembe*, a drum and dance festival important to the followers of the religion. Murphy is there at the invitation of his *babalawo*, his priest and teacher of the mysteries of this African-Cuban tradition. A Don Juan, Carlos Castaneda story set in New York? At various points in the narrative one cannot help but get that impression, but overall there is no denying Murphy's book as a serious effort to understand a religion not often the subject of more than passing scholarly interest.

In his preface and introduction both, Murphy worries about the conflicting demands of dispassionate scholarship and understanding based on experience. His solution is to sandwich personal experience, described in Part Two of the book, between sections dealing with history and cultural analysis respectively. Part One of the book traces the origins of Santería out of Africa through its transformations in Cuba. Part Three offers an ethnohistorical and cultural interpretation of the religion. These are quite orthodox in their attention to syncretism and resistance to oppression. More original and insightful are the connections Murphy makes between Santería's central ideas and ritual practices and adherents' conceptions of the sacred and profane.

Part Two, Murphy's quest for the knowledge and experience of Santería, is most novel and engaging. He begins by describing the outward face of the religion as encountered browsing New York's *botánicas*, the small shops selling the herbs, beads, statues, and other items salient to ritual. Murphy moves next to the inner world of Santería. He tells of his initial visit with Padrino, a renowned diviner and high priest. The occasion is the feast day of St. Francis of Assisi and his Yoruba counterpart *Ifa*, a powerful oracle spirit. Because *Ifa* is Padrino's patron his house is full of members of his spiritual family or *ile*. Murphy reports conversations with the faithful at this and other ceremonial gatherings. These conversations tell something of personal backgrounds and beliefs. Members also volunteer testimonials to the power of the *orisha* spirits.

Woven into the narrative of Murphy's first meeting with Padrino is a brief sketch of his life, a description of his immediate family, their home, and its various shrines. Murphy makes an appointment for a session with the *Ifa* oracle. He describes the waiting room, his consultation, and how Padrino works the oracle. Murphy receives instruction in the propitiation of the warrior *orishas* during a second visit. Later, for a "substantial fee," he is mystically purified and receives sacred necklaces essential to keeping the clear head necessary for listening to these spirits. Murphy describes his attendance at a young woman's *asiento*, an initiation in which an *orisha* is seated in the head, and finally his experience at the *bembe* where he became momentarily possessed. The account throughout this section is highly personal but always instructive of the principles, myths, and rituals Murphy is in the process of learning.

Murphy does not include substantial demographic or sociological information in his book. He provides no estimate of the number of *santeros* in New York or elsewhere. He offers nothing systematic pertaining to the social and economic status of members. The book does not have much to say regarding the functional significance of Santería in the lives of its modern, urban adherents, and there is no discussion of levels of religious commitment. Although it is said that initiations are expensive there are no clear indications how this affects the structure and organization of the community of faithful. Padrino is characterized as something of a businessman, but the business side of his practice is not discussed.

Murphy's work rests squarely in the idealistic tradition of Herskovits. Its strengths lie in revealing the complexity of beliefs and practices that engage the *santeros*, showing how these developed historically, and describing how the adept impart their knowledge to someone with an earnest desire to learn the mysteries of the faith. Murphy accords respect to Santería, offering a strong antidote to the popular sensationalism that so often colors attitudes toward African-American sects. On account of these virtues and the book's readability, it would make an excellent addition to the required reading list in courses

dealing with either African traditions in the New World or comparative religions. Professionals in these fields as well as their students stand to learn a great deal from Murphy's research and experience.

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Way of Death: merchant capitalism and the Angolan slave trade, 1730-1830.
JOSEPH C. MILLER. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press,
1988. xxx + 770 pp. (Cloth US \$35.00)

Death as reality and metaphor was the constant companion of Africans in Angola, the Middle Passage, and Brazil; Kongo, "land of the dead"; Lord Mwene Puto's land of the dead; death of families, communities, traditional values; "dead" in their hearts (as Africans put it) of buyers and sellers of people so they could hold goods; a political economy of mortality; death for Africans battling an infertile land, drought, flooding, starvation, malnutrition, disease and violence, cruelty and civil wars; death (for many) on treks from homelands to ports, in barracoons of Luanda and Benguela, and in "floating tombs" to a New World where "social death" as dishonored slaves awaited them; death, at the hands of commercial capitalism and its agents, of traditional African ethics, concepts of political economy, and of governance and authority. An Angolan governor characterized slaves as "a commodity that died with such ease." Slaves, individually and collectively, experienced multiple deaths: psychologically; physically; and metaphorically as they were turned into gold, silver, commodities and currency credits. Death is the protagonist of Joseph Miller's drama: with an international cast, a complex plot held together by the theme of merchant capitalism, and Angola, Brazil, and the South Atlantic as the stage.

The book is divided into five parts. The first (pp. 1-169) sets the West Central African scene: terrain, climate, peoples, diseases, diets, ideologies, societies, economies, politics and institutions. Here a major theme emerges, namely the clash between two political economies: the African use-value economy which viewed capital as consisting of people who were sources of productivity, hence making desirable the aggregation of dependents for rights to their labor at some future time but devoid of any notion of exchange or currency; and the European, based on commercial capital and exchange. On occasion, traditional African strategies prevailed but inroads of European commercial capital were inexorable and rulers came to relinquish their dependents for export. The revolutionary

nature of this transition from royal authority, based on respect, to warlords buttressed by guns and mercenaries, emergence of merchant princes, conversion of goods into people, and a slaving frontier moving eastwards, had profound demographic results. Expansions of slave catchment zones, ecological disaster, and epidemiological factors, contributed to relocations of people and highly reproductive populations of women and children. We witness the emergence of a commercial economy in West Central Africa and the traders - African, Luso-African, Portuguese, and Brazilian - with Luanda as the point of contact with Western capitalist economies of the Atlantic system. Miller describes the African commercial and transport sector: central markets, investment of large amounts of European capital, different strategies for advancing credit, politically organized trading federations, and the economics of transporting slaves as rapidly as possible along the trade routes. The Luso-African commercial community had a foot in both camps - the African and the Portuguese - pursuing different strategies to accommodate to the new reality, finally to fall victim to dependency on borrowed goods, Portuguese currencies and credit, and increased commercialization of the trade. Their withdrawal from an Atlantic economy enabled them to salvage pride and commercial investments. Instrumental in their downfall had been immigrant Portuguese merchants in Luanda, with whom they had working relationships and who made commercial marriages of convenience with Luso-African women. Female partners often outlived their spouses, achieving wealth and discreet prominence. Lack of requisite contacts and skills condemned such expatriots exclusively to Luanda and even this they were to abandon to Brazilians and Luso-Africans. West Central Africa was being transformed into a political economy based on debt to the world economy, with institutions - transportation and distribution - geared to this economy, and with African transporters dependent on European credit to stay in business.

The "floating tombs" were Brazilian owned. Miller details the economics of a maritime trade in slaves: freight charges, tight-packing, smuggling, provisioning and other operating costs, and challenges posed by port and other regulations. He provides an excellent overview of winds and currents and maritime technology, and trade-offs necessary to attempt to achieve maximum efficiency. He chronicles the "voyage of no return" from initial enslavement, trek to the coast, barracoons, embarkation, and passage, with suffering and heavy mortality at every stage. This story has been told before, but Miller does it extraordinarily well and sensitively.

Part 3 (pp. 445-531) examines the ebb and flow of Brazilian participation in the South Atlantic trade, with the most intense Brazilian investment in slaves from the 1790s through to 1807. Rio was prominent in the sale of slaves for silver through Rio de la Plata. But, both in terms of volume and value, the slave trade was marginal to major political issues and not of prime commercial

importance to Bahia, Pernambuco, or Rio. This explains three different phases of Brazilian participation, from peripheries to center to peripheries of commerce in the south Atlantic, characterized by shortage of capital, and escalation of Portuguese (and European) demands on Brazil. After 1810 the British dominated Brazilian commerce, were major carriers of Brazilian produce to Europe, and marginalized even more Brazilian mercantile and shipping interests. Anglo-Portuguese in Rio pressured the crown to impose restrictions on Angola which adversely affected Brazilian traders from Bahia and Pernambuco. Rio traders accumulated enough commercial capital of their own to bankroll the illegal trade of the 1830s and 1840s.

Vicissitudes of Portuguese crown authority in Angola and the politics and economics of Portuguese mercantilism occupy Part 4 (pp. 535-653). Slave duty contracts and contractors exceeding royal privileges by monopolistic abuses were challenged by Lisbon merchants associated with the Marquis of Pombal. Such action was but one aspect (others were establishment of chartered companies, reform of the Asia trade, restrictions on Luso-Africans) of a domestic program of reform guided by British liberal principles of free trade. For Angola, these culminated in cancellation of the contract on slave export duties. But Lisbon merchants' success was short-lived: their means inadequate to compete with Brazilian and foreign investment in Angolan slaving, by the end of the century they withdrew from Angola. The Southern Atlantic slave trade had been lost to Brazilians and to British capital. For those metropolitan merchants who relocated with the royal court to Rio de Janeiro, the control they achieved over Angolan slaves was short term and too late. Even in its death throes, slavery and the slave trade occupied the international stage on which Britain, overtly and covertly, played an all-pervasive role. In this complex story of relations between traders, merchants, and shippers, between commercial interests in Luanda, Rio de Janeiro, and Lisbon, and between commercial politics and political economies, access to - and infusions of - capital was the determining factor. If Death is one protagonist, merchant capital (and its agents) is the other.

Professor Miller states his positions forcefully and directly: he does not shy from controversy. Nor does he eschew "conjectural history," most notably in his demographic analyses which lead him to assert: loss to the trade did not overshadow other sources of death (p. 155); overall death rates attributable to the process of enslavement were about 30 per 1,000 per year (p. 382); slaving did not in itself deplete the Angolan population in the long run (p. 155); large numbers of fertile women produced more than enough to replace losses because of enslavement, and higher growth rates strained the capabilities of cultivators to feed (pp. 161-67); one fourth to one half of one per cent of the entire population started the trek to the sea (p. 153); 50 per cent mortality between

enslavement and embarkation (p. 153); a city dweller in the United States in 1980 was 5 times more likely to be the victim of a reportable crime than was an Angolan of being enslaved (p. 154). Miller supports the view that tight-packing, inadequate provisioning, and self-interest and cruelty of captains, contributed substantially to heavy mortality although prescribed quantities of mealies for slaves on board were standard compared to rations given unskilled labor in Angola and Brazil (pp. 408-27). Death rates at sea in the early 1700s may have exceeded 50 per cent, but by the 1820s mortality was down to 3 to 5 per cent (p. 427). He suggests a balance sheet of mortality late in the history of the trade: process of capture - 10 per cent; en route to coast - 25 per cent; in port towns - 10 to 15 per cent; at sea - 10 per cent; sale in Brazil - 5 per cent; first year of "seasoning" - 15 per cent. Of the original 100, only some 30 would live and work in Brazil as fully "seasoned" slaves (pp. 440-41). Miller challenges (p. 167, n. 58) Patrick Manning's demographic assumptions for West Central Africa and gently corrects (p. 430, n. 197) Herbert Klein's emphasis on seasonality to explain rising mortality rates in the trade (Miller emphasizing annual, rather than seasonal, fluctuations in slave deaths). Miller also qualifies the "guns-slaves" cycle, finding firearms less critical as instruments of death than for exchange (pp. 90-94, 119).

Slavery and the Middle Passage are furrows (especially the English and French) well ploughed by scholars of different disciplines and ideological shadings ("With respect to African economic history, liberal assumptions have all but precluded penetrating analysis of slavery and the slave trade", p. 42), and often from an European or American perspective. For Professor Miller, Luanda is the pivot for the plot which takes the readers to many shores washed by the Atlantic, but always returns to Africa and seeks to recount the story in African voices and from an African perspective. That his expertise lies in Africa is reflected in the proportion of the text devoted to Africa and emphasis on Angolan primary sources, albeit with Brazilian, Portuguese, French, and British archival research in strong supporting roles. Specific conclusions based on Angolan materials conform with interpretations of Brazilian history. The Caribbean appears only as a market for slaves, specifically the demand for slaves for sugar plantations of Cuba and Saint Domingue. The reader comes to appreciate the motivations behind individual or collective actions, manoeuvrings and covert and overt manipulations, and invested interests and power-plays. This is a cogently argued, authoritative account, with informed speculation, richly documented assertions, and refined statistical analysis. The conceptual sophistication and scholarship are of the highest order. Maps, tables, and figures are invaluable complements to the text. The academic apparatus (notes, glossary, bibliography, index) is excellent. With this work Joseph Miller has joined the small, but select, group of Atlantic historians in the true sense of the word.

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French reaction to British slave Emancipation. LAWRENCE C. JENNINGS. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. ix + 228 pp. (Cloth US \$27.50)

In contrast to England, abolitionism was a marginal topic on the political agenda of 19th-century France. This book examines specifically how British slave emancipation affected the way French politics dealt with the issue, from the beginning of the July Monarchy (1830) to the eve of the Second Republic which, among its first measures, abolished slavery in 1848. Indirectly, it suggests several broader insights into French politics in the period.

Abolition in 1848 was, as Jennings writes, "a totally extraneous event" (as indeed had been the first abolition voted during the French Revolution and briefly implemented between 1794 and 1802). His book shows how little the transition from slavery to freedom had been prepared during the nearly two decades of the July Monarchy. Vaguely inspired by liberal reformists, successive governments took then timid initiatives - setting up missions of enquiry, drawing up new legislation *in extremis* allowing gradual abolition for certain categories. Before the July Monarchy, the issue of slavery had been buried for thirty years, following the traumatic St. Domingue slave revolt and France's subsequent loss of its wealthiest sugar colony. The issue reappeared, Jennings argues convincingly, due to the emancipationist process taking place at the time in England. The policy established following the Abolition Act of 1833 provided the French with a concrete example - to avoid or to imitate - of the eventuality of the shift from slavery to free labor.

Jennings shows how the views of colonial officials and planter elites generally remained close and dominated policy in the period. Conveyed regularly to the Ministry of Navy and Colonies in Paris, their prevailing conservatism encouraged the government to "delay and status quo." They were successful in large measure because they succeeded in framing debate about abolition almost exclusively in economic terms. In France and overseas the English example was discussed in light of its economic record. French naval officers were sent to the British West Indies primarily to observe the British failure to sustain colonial production. Abolitionists in France were honest, Jennings shows, about how slave emancipation had disorganized that production. However, in entering the fray in that manner, they operated at a great disadvantage. In effect they gave up their best argument - the moral and humanitarian gains of abolition - and

implicitly accepted the economic terms of debate. French discussion of the apprenticeship system implemented in the British colonies in 1833-38 provides the best illustration of this economic focus.

The cause of abolitionism in France had the additional disadvantage of arousing nationalist resistance. For one thing, French abolitionists had had a kind of "filial-paternal" relationship to their English mentors since the 18th century. (They did not, however, adopt the tactic of mass mobilization to pressure Parliament, used so successfully in England - limiting their action, instead, to the printed page.) For another, abolition had been associated with the goals of British foreign policy since 1807, when the Royal Navy was employed to end the slave trade. As part of an *entente cordiale* between the two countries, France eventually agreed to a mutual right to search each other's ships for possible slave trading. In the 1840s, however, this practice sparked a bitter controversy. French public opinion ran strongly against the government, holding that the real purpose of English concern for abolition was to harm French maritime commerce. The result was that abolition was delayed further in France.

Jennings's study draws from good sources, in the French national as well as departmental archives (although he might have found important additional information had he consulted the reports from the naval stations: Archives Nationales, Marine BB4). Newspapers proved a useful source; in their selection the author was guided by numerous clippings found in the files of the ministry of the Navy and Colonies - which suggests a policy already conducted with an eye on the public opinion.

This is a well-written book, and Louisiana University Press is to be congratulated for its editing (with French words spelled correctly throughout). Jennings's next project, the author tells us, will deal more broadly with French slavery and abolitionism. It may throw more light on the marginality of abolitionism as a political issue, partly linked to Protestants (like suffragism in the Third Republic, as shown in a recent book by Steven Hause and Anne Kenney). As we know from the studies of David Eltis, Seymour Drescher and Howard Temperley, the emancipationist process tells us a great deal about social ideology and political organization in a European country. This should come as no surprise: ultimately, on a human rights issue proper to a colonial age, abolition was a matter of political decision made in the metropolis.

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White servitude and black slavery in Barbados, 1627-1715. HILARY MCD. BECKLES. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989. xv + 218 pp. (Cloth US \$34.95)

Until recently Abbot Emerson Smith's *Colonists in bondage*, published in 1947, provided the most comprehensive study of white indentured servants and convict labor in colonial America. Now Hilary Beckles' *White servitude and black slavery in Barbados, 1627-1715* adds an extended colonial dimension to this important topic. In this elegantly written book, Beckles expands on Smith's impressive study of the socio-economic background of the thousands of men and women who ventured to the colonies, their expectations, the terms of their contracts, and the realities of their servitude. Using extensive archival materials housed in Britain and Barbados, he explores the changing economic conditions within Barbados, the impact of the sugar revolution on the colonists labor requirements, and the subsequent changeover from indentured servitude to African slavery. More importantly, he ably demonstrates that the lessons learnt from the unbridled exploitation of white servants laid the foundation for an even more brutal system of black slavery. West Indian planters clearly considered all forms of labor, black or white, enslaved or free, simply as exploitable, alienable, and expendable property.

Although most servants migrated willingly to Barbados, many others were the victims of the turbulent political situation in England. Prisoners taken during the course of the English Civil War, political dissidents, and common criminals under sentence of death, frequently found themselves deported to the island to answer the colonists' insatiable demand for cheap labor. Stringent legislation governing the punishment of recalcitrant servants and the lack of adequate food, clothing, and shelter added to their misery.

Servants arriving in Barbados between 1627 and 1640 were bound to small-scale cotton and tobacco producers for periods ranging from five to seven years. At the expiration of their terms these servants expected a grant of land and the opportunity to make at least modest improvements in their social and economic positions. Their chances of realizing such dreams became increasingly remote as the burgeoning sugar industry revolutionized the economy and plantations engrossed all but the most marginal acreage. Beckles points out that as early as 1640 Barbados had "lost its reputation as 'the granary of the Indies' " (p. 85) as Barbadian planters consolidated their landholdings and moved into large-scale sugar production. Later arrivals usually received their "freedom dues" in poor quality sugar when market prices were low.

At the same time planters faced a diminishing supply of white servants as reports of mistreatment, overwork, and the unlikelyhood of receiving expected "freedom dues" discouraged potential migrants from making Barbados their final

destination. Potential laborers chose the better prospects offered by Jamaica or the mainland colonies rather than risk their futures in Barbados. Sugar planters, therefore, sought other solutions to their labor problems. By the mid-1660s organizational changes in the Atlantic slave trade made enslaved Africans, previously considered too expensive, a viable alternative. Whereas between 1635-1660 slaves had cost an average of £30, by 1665 the cost had been reduced to approximately £14-22 per slave. Moreover, the supply of slaves available to the island had increased roughly 300 per cent (pp. 122-24). Slaves, having no rights to land or payment, replaced servants as the preferred form of labor in a relatively short time and by 1680 enslaved Africans constituted approximately 83 per cent of the plantation labor force (Table 5.3).

With the introduction of slavery planters confronted new difficulties. As long as white servants and black slaves worked side by side under the same dehumanizing conditions planters lived in constant fear of a combined rebellion. Deliberate efforts were made to divide and rule the labor force. In the same way that they played upon regional differences to fragment the slave population, planters also manipulated the religious loyalties of the servants, and the racial difference between the servants and the slaves (p. 98). New legislation prolonged the terms of servants who ran away in company with slaves and recaptured servants found their terms lengthened by the combined time they and the slaves had been absent from work.

Most freed servants never realized their dreams of upward social and economic mobility. Without sufficient land to qualify for the franchise they had little hope of gaining even the most insignificant political office and even less prospect of moving in higher social circles. The fortunate few who accumulated enough capital to purchase land prior to 1650 lost their status when they sold their smallholdings to the encroaching estates a few years later. Some freedmen found work as overseers and drivers on the sugar estates, others were forced to renew their indentures or face the prospect of unemployment and starvation. Those who worked as skilled craftsmen in towns or on estates, faced competition from the increasing number of trained slaves. By 1700 most large plantations employed skilled slaves, rather than servants, as boilers, sugar makers, masons, and carpenters (p. 138). The impoverished servants who remained in Barbados had by then become largely irrelevant to the economy. Apart from occasional service as militiamen and slave-catchers, they retreated to the fringes of society, their only badge of "superiority" being their whiteness in a black slave-based society.

Beckles illustrates his arguments with a variety of useful graphs and tables though one or two need clarification. For example, Fig. 6.2 shows the increased value of land in St James and Christ Church between 1638 and 1650 but gives no indication of the number of transactions involved nor whether it is based on

all land transactions in these parishes or simply on the sales of plantations. Despite these small points, Beckles' provides an excellent in-depth study of the transition from servitude to slavery and refutes claims that Barbadian planters treated their white servants in a relatively paternalistic manner.

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In miserable slavery: Thomas Thistlewood in Jamaica, 1750-1786. DOUGLAS HALL. London: Macmillan, 1989. xxi + 322 pp. (Paper UK £9.95)

In the long, sordid, history of slavery first hand accounts such as this one are as extraordinary as they are rare. Not only did slavery flourish before the expansion of general literacy, but a significant cleavage existed between the overwhelmingly European master class (with both the leisure and the inclination to write) and the preponderantly African (or indigenous Indian) servile class for whom survival was almost all-consuming at the expense of literary exercises. Most surviving accounts, therefore, reflect the circumscribed world of the isolated and sometimes besieged master class. The more common form of such publications have been all-encompassing *mémoires-cum-histories* illustrated by examples such as Richard Ligon's, *A true and exact history of the Island of Barbados* (published in 1657), or Edward Long's, *A history of Jamaica* (published in 1774). Most such authorities on the nature of the slave society had only relatively brief experiences with the institution. Ligon lived and worked in Barbados for only three years at a time when the island was changing from a tobacco and cotton producer to a sugar and slave plantation society. Long had a longer and more substantial relationship with Jamaica, and his local experience paralleled the first half of Thomas Thistlewood's sojourn. Thistlewood spent 36 years industriously seeking a fortune and social esteem in Jamaica - an unusually long time for a white person to survive in the tropics. An indefatigable writer, *In miserable slavery* is culled from his diary comprising more than 10,000 manuscript pages. Besides, he recorded copious notes on the weather and on his general reading.

Although much has been written on slavery in the English-speaking Caribbean in general and in Jamaica in particular, nothing to date quite approximates this remarkable book. It is an entertainingly presented edition of an unusually literate, struggling, would-be planter who meticulously documented his small, parochial world in southwestern Jamaica for thirty-six years. When he came to Jamaica in 1750 at the age of 29, Thistlewood was entering a colonial society on the threshold of converting itself to a virtual sugar monoculture. He was a restless young man who had spent two years serving the East India Company abroad, and had traveled through various European trade marts as a modest itinerant vendor. Unlike most of his fellow fortune-seekers bound for the West Indies, Thistlewood had had a fairly good general education, as well as considerable prior theoretical knowledge of agriculture and botany. Jamaica was a good bet in 1750; and the parish of Westmoreland was one of its frontiers of agricultural development. Although most of its fertile coastal plains were not yet cultivated in sugar cane, the island had about 18,000 whites, 7,000 free persons of color, 170,000 slaves and produced nearly onehalf of all the sugar imported into Great Britain from the Caribbean. Westmoreland parish alone possessed more than 40 properties exceeding 1000 acres, and some of the most prominent families in the history of the island. Thistlewood lived in Jamaica, then, at perhaps its most dynamic period of transformation.

Relatively self-confident, and extraordinarily curious, Thistlewood lacked both the initial capital and the social connections to begin at the top, so he started as did most whites in that peculiar world, as the manager of, first a small cattle property, then graduating within a year to the more important, rewarding, and prestigious position of a sugar estate overseer. His estate, however, was not among the larger in the region and Thistlewood was not a congenial subordinate. By 1767 he gained some measure of personal and financial independence when he not only acquired more than 30 slaves, but also bought a small, irregular estate of approximately 160 acres on which he cultivated vegetables, foodcrops, and flowers for the local domestic market; cut dyewood for export; and fished and shot wildfowl for his own subsistence. With most of his land waterlogged and uncultivable, he rented out most of his slaves to neighboring estates. When he died in 1786 he was marginally better off economically than in 1767.

The diaries portray a surprisingly varied world for that time and place. Thistlewood comments extensively on his own relationship (often personal and intimate) with his and other slaves, with the few fellow whites for whom he worked or with whom he socialized, and with the free Maroons of Accompong. His notes reveal fascinating glimpses of the vagaries of trade, of the hazards of daily life, the physical destructiveness of hurricanes, the local impact of the extensive Tacky slave rebellion of 1760, the seven years' Anglo-French war of 1756-1763, and the American war of independence, 1776-1783. As the editor

notes, Thistlewood's account is strong on saying what happened but never on why things happened. As such, they seem to be able to substantiate any generalization about the slave society, especially the ubiquitous quality of shortness and brutality. His success as a slaveowner - if dying calmly in bed of old age and venereal disease can be called a success - was based on a simple managerial policy. "He kept the ... slaves as busy as he could; he tended them when sick; he flogged them when he thought they erred; he regularly gave them their allowances of food and clothing and liquor, and sometimes extras for unusual labour or good performance; he allowed them, even in the midst of rebellion, their Sunday tickets to move about; but he held them in strict control" (page 111). Thistlewood's words portray an anti-Catholic, anti-semitic individual occasionally generous and thoughtful, but consistently cruel to his slaves. Coobah, one of his females, ran away fourteen times in about three years; and absconding and "impudence" were frequently reasons given for punishing his slaves. Nevertheless, he had an intimate liaison with Phibba, his former employer's slave, that lasted for 33 years. In his will Thistlewood manumitted Phibba, from whom he frequently borrowed money, and one of her sons, adding, "I order and direct that my Executors do lay out the sum of One Hundred Pounds current money aforesaid in the purchase of a Lot or piece of land for the said Phibba wherever she shall chuse [sic] and that they do build thereon a dwelling-house for the said Phibba suitable to her station..."

In miserable slavery, despite its earlier time-frame and differences in the social status and economic accomplishments of the authors, closely parallels Gilpin Faust's *James Henry Hammond and the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1982), suggesting the comparability of slave society in Jamaica and South Carolina. Both add nuances and complexities to the typically harsh, stereotyped world of masters and slaves.

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Teachers, education and politics in Jamaica 1892-1972. HARRY GOULBOURNE.
London: Macmillan, 1988. x + 198 pp. (Paper UK £9.95)

Harry Goulbourne has provided a sensitive historical and political analysis of education and politics in Jamaica during a critical period in the country's history. The focus is on the ideological orientations and political behavior of elementary school teachers and the trade union, professional and political issues

which they raised. Specifically, the study examines the origins, tactics and activities of the major teachers' organizations (the Jamaica Union of Teachers (JUT) established in 1894 and the Jamaica Teachers' Association (JTA) established seventy years later) and assesses and compares their impact on education and on national politics.

During the greater part of the period embraced by the study, Jamaica remained a colony, subject to the dictates of the British Colonial Office. The society was essentially hierarchical in structure with class divisions determined mainly by class, color and race. While the small white and colored minority maintained an inherited position of power and influence in the society, and sought to use education and other means to maintain their supremacy, the black subordinated classes, which constituted the majority of the population, regarded education as the main instrument for effecting their own upward social mobility.

Goulbourne rejects both the stratification and cultural and social pluralism theses in favor of class as the key concept with which to analyze Jamaican society. He places the elementary school teachers squarely within the petite bourgeoisie and examines their role in the conflict which resulted from the competing interests of the two major groups - the dominant and the dominated. The political and the professional activities of teachers, which he discusses, reflect this conflict. Teachers are shown to have promoted issues such as early childhood education and compulsory attendance, which they regarded as being in the interest of the working class, while actively disseminating the values and beliefs of the strategic elites in society and inculcating respect for the *status quo* and for existing social institutions. The study, therefore, highlights the ambivalent position of Jamaican elementary school teachers. They are trapped in a situation where, as the main agents for the socialization of the black child, they constitute the front-line of defence of establishment values, while at the same time they work to achieve the upliftment through education of the black masses from which they came.

This ambivalence has been a major determinant of the political behavior of teachers. Goulbourne shows how the JUT avoided overt confrontation with the authorities and was guided by a spirit of moderation, presenting itself as a reasonable body which, from its inception, eschewed military tactics and distinguished itself from more militant groups. In a period which witnessed the development of the Garvey movement and the struggles of the working class to establish militant unions, the JUT was at pains to emphasize the non-trade union aspects of the organization. We know also, from other sources, that teachers were generally indifferent or hostile to the Garvey movement. D.T. Wint, for example, an early JUT president, ridiculed Garvey's proposal for an eight-hour day for workers and condemned his call for a movement of black people back to Africa, as an insult to Jamaicans (Murray 1969: 140). Goulbourne provides

a useful summary of the rise of the labor movement and the development of the two-party system, and draws interesting parallels between the teachers' unions and these developments. He does not, however, mention the Garvey movement.

The book analyzes some of the more crucial issues of contention between teachers and policymakers – one of the most interesting being the relevance of the elementary school curriculum in a predominantly agricultural country. Teachers appear to have very vocally rejected the attempts by the Board of Education to introduce agricultural training and domestic science. The JUT quite rightly and unsuccessfully argued that elementary schools were intended to provide general education and not to equip the children for a vocation (p. 140).

Another significant policy issue was the feminization of the teaching profession. Goulbourne mentions this and concludes that the intention seems to have been to improve the moral standing of the community and encourage the teaching of domestic science (pp. 73-4). This issue is the subject of an earlier monograph on the development of the teaching profession which refutes Goulbourne's conclusion and which has aroused a great deal of controversy (Miller 1986).

The importance of the book under review lies mainly in the fact that it documents the origins and increasing professionalization of one of the earliest Jamaican pressure groups and that, in doing this, it illustrates the essential continuity of educational issues and problems and the various responses to them. It adds a further dimension to our understanding of political process in a colonial and newly independent society and should be of interest to educators and political scientists as well as to historians.

Goulbourne concludes that the more militant JTA was more effective than the JUT in promoting the interests of teachers. Although this conclusion is fully supported by findings of the study, it appears to diminish the role of the JUT. As the forerunner of the JTA, the JUT nurtured the corporate spirit of teachers in its infancy, and established the firm foundations on which that organization now stands. The significance of pressure groups quite often rests more on what they stand for, than on the success of the causes they espouse. At the same time, unintended effects are sometimes worthwhile and enduring. There is a clear need for further study of the overall impact of teachers, negative and positive, on the Jamaican society.

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History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica. FRANCIS J. OSBORNE, S.J. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988. xi + 532 pp. (Paper US \$12.95)

This book provides the first comprehensive account of the Catholic church in Jamaica from the Spanish conquest to 1986. It is strongly based on archival material from local and metropolitan depositories which is presented in narrative form, in the manner of a chronicle. Surprisingly, the author has relied almost exclusively for secondary material on fellow chroniclers, 19th- and early 20th-century church historians and non-academic writers. The plain recapitulation of church records, however, provides a wealth of new material which makes the book a useful scholarly resource which complements existing literature on the Catholic church in the French and Spanish speaking Caribbean.

The history of Catholic Jamaica falls into four distinct periods: the epoch of Spanish settlement (1494-1655), the urban enclave period (1792-1838), early expansion (1838-1894) and consolidation (1894 to present).

The financial fortunes of the Spanish colonial church peaked early: between 1534-54 its tithes bore comparison with the tithes of Cuba, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo and rose to 1000 pesos a year. This period saw the abandonment of a north coast settlement at New Seville with a partly built cathedral for Santiago de la Vega, in the south, where a government official had established the first successful slave labor sugar plantation. The abbey church established there serviced a constituency which never numbered more than 2,000 including the slaves who constituted some 50% of the population by 1611. The clergy in Jamaica, as elsewhere in the Caribbean, produced a quota of reformers, intent on converting Indians and Africans despite settler opposition; but their efforts stood in marked contrast to the majority who failed to establish a consistent record of service even to the white population as the inadequacy of baptismal records demonstrates.

Catholic worship was revived in Jamaica briefly under James II, but regular services were restored only after the repeal of the British penal laws allowed Spanish merchants in Kingston to request a priest to minister to their community in 1792. The St. Domingue revolution rapidly expanded the Catholic constituency by an influx of planter refugees and their slaves which comprised

900 whites and 1400 slaves by 1808. Serviced only by one or two priests randomly recruited from refugees of war and revolution it remained an immigrant congregation, its place of worship known colloquially as the French church. At a period when strenuous efforts by Protestant missionaries, Black Baptist preachers, and evangelicals within the Anglican church created slave congregations in every parish, Catholic church records only 230 slave baptisms (1795-1834).

In 1837, in preparation for Emancipation, Jamaica which had been subordinate first to London and, after 1829, to Trinidad, became a separate vicariate with its own vicar apostolic to supervise the Bahamas and British Honduras. The number of priests increased to eight (1855) and missions were founded. Work began in the vicinity of Kingston and expanded to the western parishes where the first Catholic country residence was established in 1875.

Much of this mission work, however, focused on immigrant Germans and Portuguese imported as farmers or sugar workers, white enclaves in a predominantly black and colored population. Only the Kingston city missions seem to have addressed the poor in general. By 1882, although the Catholic community had grown to some 11,000 the conversion rate was slow: only 47 for that year in the countryside and 220 for Kingston.

Throughout this period the Church recruited very few lay activists. Whereas the Protestant missions, even under slavery, had developed extensive networks among the slave and free colored and black population, active Jamaican supporters were very few. Five women, one a government school teacher and four who set up an orphanage are the outstanding exceptions. The church hierarchy, however, continued to be upgraded; Rome appointed a bishop as vicar apostolic in 1889 and the tempo of church activity increased when Jamaica was removed in 1894 from the English province of the Society of Jesus to the American province (first of Maryland-New York and, in 1927, of New England). This brought an influx of Irish American priests, American bishops and an entrepreneurial spirit which built 19 chapels regularly serviced by missionaries, founded a hospital and developed the schools first established in the 19th century. By 1920 the Catholic church, like the Anglican one, was represented in all save one of Jamaica's parishes.

These developments were facilitated by the growth of a new immigrant population, the Chinese. Introduced as agricultural workers in the mid decades of the 19th century, the Chinese moved rapidly into the retail trade and some established themselves as prosperous merchants, the equivalent of the Spanish who had re-established the church in the 18th century. The Catholic church became the Chinese immigrants' national church in Jamaica, and served as a social counter-weight to the Anglican church stronghold of the white elite and associated colored strata. Under their influence the school curriculum was

modernized and Credit Unions became a significant social activity; most importantly they prompted the church to train a Jamaican priesthood.

Catholic reliance on foreign priests set it apart from other churches in the island which were staffed to differing degrees by Jamaicans, including some black Jamaicans. A Catholic seminary was finally established in 1952 (following the foundation of the University of the West Indies), but it was not until 1966 that a Jamaican of Chinese origin was ordained as priest. In 1971 the first Jamaican Archbishop was appointed for a church which comprised some 8% of the Jamaican population.

Father Osborne's pioneer survey has opened up archival resources capable of adding a new dimension to comparative Caribbean studies.

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Biographical dictionary of Latin American and Caribbean political leaders.

ROBERT J. ALEXANDER (ed.). New York, Westport, London: Greenwood Press, 1988. x + 509 pp. (Cloth US\$75.00)

Biographical dictionary is an excellent first-stop reference book for Latin American political figures. It offers over 450 biographical sketches of the most important political figures in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Latin America and the Caribbean. The biographies are organized in alphabetical order as well as easily accessed through an index listing such categories as political parties, movements, leaders, unions, and newspapers. A first appendix lists entries by country or territory; a second appendix presents a chronology of the major events in the area from 1804 to the present making this, *in toto*, a most valuable reference book. But don't look here if you want information on political leaders after 1986 - the strength of the dictionary, instead, is in its historical compilation.

For those interested in difficult-to-find Caribbean biographical sketches, the *Dictionary* is particularly helpful. Percy C. Hintzen and W. Marvin Will have done an admirable job in outlining the political leaders of the Caribbean. Each biography is followed by as many as five bibliographic entries ranging from the *International Who's Who* and "The New York Times" to more substantive monographs. Nevertheless, given the hundreds of entries compiled by only fourteen scholars, sketches vary in length and quality. Some biographies include little more than chronological histories of political leaders' schooling, party

affiliation and candidacy while others are more thoughtful and historically comparative presentations of political processes. The dictionary, however, for the most part, fails to insert the political leaders into their social context in terms of class and social history.

The lack of editorial uniformity sets up the reader for pleasant surprises as well as disillusionment. For example, the page-length biography on General Pinochet of Chile, by Alexander himself, is very informative, explaining Chile's economic and social vicissitudes and Pinochet's responses. Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado, leader of Peru's Revolutionary Government (1968-75) and of Peru's most fundamental national reforms, by contrast, is covered in one paragraph.

Some sketches are comically vacuous, such as that by Robert Alexander on Hégépappe Légitimus of Guadeloupe. It is barely six lines and begins with Légitimus's vital dates: (18 ?-19 ?). Furthermore, the bibliographic reference refers only to Alexander's other edited dictionary, *Political parties of the Americas*, 1982, the value of which one wonders with regard to Monsieur Légitimus. Additionally, the brevity of some of the sketches is frustrating when as expert a scholar on José Carlos Mariátegui as Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez comments on Mariátegui's unique brand of Marxism to say simply: "Mariátegui is widely recognized as one of the few important Marxist theorists to have appeared in Latin America" (p. 285). Overall, one would like to see more balance in the biographies.

For Haiti, there is no mention of those leaders most recently in the limelight: Henri Namphy, Leslie Manigat and Prosper Avril, which is understandable given the pace of Haiti's "changing of the guard" and that of the slow calendar of publication of a book such as this. However, this omission may also reflect the bias of the political science approach to write more on heads of state and the "great man" of history than on political actors at the sub-state level.

Even in a dictionary that does not purport to present analysis or theory, the choice of political leaders belies an elitist, male-centered bias which assumes that all political change comes from elected officials. Most strikingly, this ostensible bias finds some confirmation with the notable absence of a sketch on El Salvador's Archbishop Oscar Romero. The political impact of Mgr. Romero on El Salvador, not to mention the rest of the hemisphere, cannot be slighted and should be considered in a reprint of the dictionary. Inclusion of Rigoberta Menchú, spokesperson of the oppressed indigenous population of Guatemala and author of *I, Rigoberta Menchu* (1981), also would have served to favorably shape the character of this dictionary and break the elitist, male bias of political histories. In all fairness, however, it must be said that Bolivia's labor leader Juan Lechín, Dominica's Eugenia Charles and Argentina's Evita Perón, are included in the dictionary; but their absence would be particularly glaring.

The nature of a dictionary of dynamic actors and events rather than static concepts inherently risks the sensation and, in fact, reality of incompleteness. For example, in *Biographical dictionary* the reader is offered the background of ten Jamaican nineteenth- and twentieth-century leaders but must look elsewhere for history as recent as that of 1984 since the sketch on Michael Manley extends only as far as December 1983 with Manley's refusal to participate in national elections. (As a 1988 publication, the most recent information in the dictionary is four years shy of the date of publication.)

This book is 509 pages long, and what it lacks in depth it covers in breadth. The Caribbean and Latin American community of researchers surely must receive gratefully Alexander's presentation. Unlike *Personalities Caribbean* (Personalities Limited Press) or *Contemporary Latin American and Caribbean Record* (Holmes & Meier, Publishers) and *Political handbook of the World* (CSA Publications, SUNY at Binghamton), the dictionary's original contribution rests in its historical citations covering nineteenth-century leaders.

Contributors include Robert J. Alexander, Marvin Alisky, Charles D. Ameringer, Eugenio Chang-Rodriguez, John T. Deiner, Guillermo Delgado, Percy C. Hintzen, Waltraud Queiser Morales, Neale J. Pearson, José M. Sánchez, Richard E. Sharpless, W. Marvin Will, Stephen J. Wright, Jordan Young.

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Bibliography of women writers from the Caribbean (1831-1986). BRENDA F. BERRIAN (ed.) and AART BROEK (assoc. ed.). Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1989. 360 pp. (Cloth US \$25.00, Paper US \$15.00)

Brenda Berrian, Associate Professor of Afro-American, African, and Caribbean Literatures in the Department of Black Studies at the University of Pittsburgh, has already earned our gratitude for her ground-breaking *Bibliography of African women writers and journalists*, published in 1985. This new volume, although by no means limited to writers of African descent, extends bibliographic resources to an area of the black diaspora that has long been in need of just such a study. Various other bibliographic works - such as Donald Herdeck's *Caribbean writers: a bio-bibliographical critical encyclopedia*, which lists very few female authors, or Jeannette Allis's *West Indian literature: an index to criticism, 1930-1975*, which is confined to Anglophone writers - though

invaluable in what they do accomplish, have provided only partial lists of what Berrian has now revealed to be a huge body of writing by women from the Caribbean.

This bibliography, as Berrian points out in her introduction, is divided into four sections according to the four dominant European languages of the Caribbean - English, French, Dutch, and Spanish - and includes Creole, Sranan Tongo, and Papiamentu. Moreover, in an acknowledgement of migrational patterns between the Caribbean and Europe or North America, it recognizes writers who may be identified with two or more countries. In all, it lists 558 writers from the English Caribbean islands and Guyana, 126 from the French Antilles and Guyana, 65 from the Netherland islands and Suriname, and 318 from the Spanish Caribbean - a total of 1067 writers, an astonishing number given the bibliographic information previously available.

In still another way the bibliography attempts to be thorough. Although one might disagree with Berrian about what constitutes "creative works" and what does not - for example, a cook book might be at least as creative as a collection of folktales - she includes, besides cook books and folklore, novels, short stories, poetry, drama (both published and performed), autobiographies, biographies, children's literature, juvenile literature, broadcast literature, literary criticism, and book reviews. In addition, she lists criticisms and reviews of these writers' works and interviews with the writers.

Whether it is because the Anglophone Caribbean has actually produced more women writers or the editor simply knew more about the Anglophone Caribbean than other areas, the bibliography for women writing in English is by far the largest section. Moreover, of the 558 writers, Jamaica has by far the longest list with 209 writers, followed by 92 from Guyana, 89 from Trinidad and Tobago, 40 from Barbados, and 129 from the remaining islands. But, as with all bibliographies, these numbers do not tell the whole story. Outstanding writers from areas of the Anglophone Caribbean not heavily represented by numbers of writers have produced such significant bodies of work that they alone have brought considerable literary fame to their areas. This is true, for example, of Jamaica Kincaid of Antigua, Jean Rhys of Dominica, or Audre Lorde of Granada. Outside the Anglophone Caribbean, we see the same thing: Maryse Condé of Guadeloupe is listed not only for her well-known novels but for her broadcasts, plays, short stories, and "Other writings" - 54 in all - as well as the thirteen interviews she has given.

The very brief remarks in the introduction to this volume only hint at a literary history that will eventually emerge - a history that this volume will have done much to make possible. The editor makes clear that such a history will have to begin not in the twentieth century, but as early as the 1830s. As with men's writing, the rise of literary journals in the twentieth century seems to have

been significant in the development of women's writing. Women of the Anglophone Caribbean found an outlet in *Bim*, *The Beacon*, *Kyk-Over-Al*, and Edna Manley's *Focus*. But one suspects that they may have relied more heavily than their male counterparts on such publications as *Chronicle Christmas Annual*, and if there is a history of women's magazines in the Caribbean, as there is in North America, one would suspect that these might yield a considerable body of women's writing. Berrian sees her bibliography as only a beginning, and very likely it is, albeit an important one.

When Selwyn Cudjoe convened the First International Conference on Women Writers of the English-speaking Caribbean, held at Wellesley College in April 1988, he told his audience that his plans had begun in partial ignorance - he had no idea who comprised this group. The result was impressive, both in the number of writers gathered and in the quality of their work. This conference has been followed by the Caribbean Women Writers Conference of April 1990 in Trinidad and Tobago, a gathering of writers from the non-Anglophone Caribbean as well. These events, combined with the growing body of scholarly works on women writers of the Caribbean, help to expose an important, but hitherto mostly overlooked, literature that is also, both because of the singular Caribbean experience and because of the woman's role within that experience, one of the more exciting areas of world literature.

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Pauvreté et développement dans les pays tropicaux, hommage à Guy Lasserre. SINGARAVÉLOU (ed.). Bordeaux: Centre d'Etudes de Géographie Tropicale-C.N.R.S./CRET-Institut de Géographie, Université de Bordeaux III, 1989. 585 pp. (Paper FFfr 317)

This book in honor of Guy Lasserre is a collection of thirty-seven readings contributed by different French authors and one American (Sidney Mintz).¹ Guy Lasserre (now approaching retirement age) was a co-founder of the Centre d'Etudes de Géographie Tropicale (C.N.R.S.), of which he was director for fourteen years. For twenty-five years, he was also a co-director of the journal *Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*. Trained under Pierre Gourou and Louis Papy, who both draw attention to various aspects of his career (pp. 1-9), he in turn trained many of those who contributed to the book. He published widely on tropical geography (pp. 11-18).

More than two thirds of the contributions are concerned with various areas of French West Africa. Among other areas of the world also under consideration are the Caribbean islands (five contributions), Latin America (three contributions), India (two contributions), Hawaii and the Island of Mauritius (one paper each). Some papers deal with general areas, such as the humid tropical world, the tropical islands, areas of small sugar-cane producers, and even wine-producing areas. Topics vary widely from one paper to another; and in terms of scale, the approach switches without pattern from the micro to the macro level. Still, the themes of poverty and development are a concern shared by all authors, to various degrees of depth, and keep the book together in spite of its immense diversity.

One would search these pages in vain for a theory of either poverty or development, or for an explanation of the persistence of poverty or underdevelopment in the countries concerned. In the Foreword, the editor emphasized the shortcomings of the scientific literature on these questions, particularly in economics. Penouil warns that development as it is too often practiced does not solve poverty; "the problem of poverty even runs the risk of becoming much more serious, following the amplification of inequalities and the erosion of the solidarity system ..." (p. 521, my translation).

Most articles rest on intensive field-work and a few on written sources. We can say of them what Louis Papy writes of Lasserre's work that all stand "at the antipodes of a pseudo-science made up in chamber, which has given rise to too many programs on theoretical development that many people nowadays in charge of spatial planning in Third World countries find useless and incomprehensible" (p. 9). One may only regret that the title of some very valuable articles are vague and meaningless, giving little indication of their content, such like "Reflexions on ...", "Some aspects of ...", "Some reflexions concerning ..."

The papers grouped under the heading "Ecological Constraints and Development" deal with constraints, of either natural or cultural origin, and people's adaptations to them. Five lay some of the foundations of development and are either descriptive or theoretical; the other five exhibit a greater concern with development itself. Development can be fostered through a mixed plantation (rubber trees and tea bushes, Songxia Cai), through programs of ecosystem restructuration (C.-Philippe Chamard), as well as through "partial and punctual readjustment to climatic uncertainties" (P.-M. Decoudras). Jean Pierre Doumenge raises the issue of relationships between insularity and development in tropical islands: if development is to take place, similarities among islands ought to be de-emphasized to allow each of them to build on its own originality. For Koechlin, the heterogeneity of the natural environment accounts for the main types of agropastoral systems in the Sahel, and as such constitutes the

local foundations for regional planning. In an oasis in southern India, proper water management for irrigation purposes does not prevent increasing social cleavages: Monnier and Petit point out the vulnerability of the oasis. Finally, Pélissier, who discusses human settlement in the mangrove areas on the Atlantic shores of French West Africa, distinguishes successful from non-successful settlements, and emphasizes conditions of success. Riou's contribution is a plea for consideration of soil conditions in development studies.

The eight papers grouped under the heading "Agriculture and Underdevelopment" are just as diverse. Housing modernization results either from income generated abroad (François and Annie Bart on the rural areas of Rwanda) or from locally earned income (Daniel Lefevre on Mauritius). Four papers are concerned with marketable items. According to Huetz de Lemp, sugar cane production has a future in mixed cropping systems, inasmuch as price permits. Shrimp production was recently undertaken in coastal Ecuador (François Doumenge), but its development raises a number of social and ecological issues. Grape growing for wine production, which in the past always failed in tropical areas, may in the future become a source of local development (Philippe Roudie). "Kindéliba" leaves, which have therapeutic as well as stimulant qualities, are now exported from Senegal to many parts of the world, and contribute to improve local family budgets (Nicole Mainet-Delair). The remaining two articles fit particularly well with the heading of underdevelopment. Yves Pehaut discusses the failure of the cereal marketing boards in Africa; and Burac tells us that much remains to be done in the English Caribbean islands to make small-scale farming attractive and viable.

Articles in the third part of the book are loosely grouped under the heading "Society and Development." In fact, "socio-economic development" would have been a more appropriate title. Four out of the nine papers demonstrate social considerations (Barros on Haïti; Benoist, on Saint-Barthelemy; and Huetz de Lemp on Hawaii). All the others deal with different aspects of economic development: tourism in French West Africa (Cazes), unemployment in Guadeloupe (Chardon), foreign investment in Central America (Maillard), women and marketing in the Caribbean (Mintz), fight against poverty in India (Singaravélou), settlement in marginal areas of Rwanda (Prioul).

Urban poverty is the general theme of the papers making up the fourth and last section of the book. These go far beyond the simple description and measurement approach to the study of poverty. Penouil demonstrates the uselessness of this sort of undertaking, as he emphasizes people's numerous and ingenious initiatives to overcome poverty. A number of papers deal with the spatial reflection of informal economy (Deler, Mainet, Nicolai, Sirven, Vennetier). Bruneau's paper shows how the population of a city that was once booming (Lubumbashi) gradually turned to activities that contributed to the

development of surrounding rural areas. For Raynaut, spatial representations of economic disparities in a Hausa city do not necessarily result in as many spatial health and disease situations, in spite of the fact that in general (Verhasselt) numerous diseases are spatially associated with poverty in tropical cities.

Some may see the book as a reader on the subject of poverty and development. Yet, it is not the sort of a reader in which, for the sake of good pedagogy, the different sections are introduced by general presentations. The authors' various contributions are loosely linked together, and no attempt is made at being comprehensive. The readers have to search for the inter-connexions as well as for the underlying hypotheses or theories. This is a difficult task, as ideological differences among authors are wide, ranging from the promotion of socialism (e.g. Barros about Haïti: "Eventually, Haïti will be socialist within a socialist America ...", p. 302) to its failure (Penaut about French West Africa: "... the failure of totally ablusive state intervention ..." (p. 274), or from ambiguous foreign capitalism in Central America (Maillard) to various forms of local capitalism resulting from people's initiatives. In fact, the book should be highly commended for the large number of papers that tend to show grassroot development at work.

NOTE

1. For the non-French readers, the summaries following each paper, along with relevant keywords, are translated into English.

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Black culture, white youth: the reggae traditions from JA to UK. SIMON JONES.
London: Macmillan, 1988. xxviii + 251 pp. (Cloth UK £33, Paper UK £9.50)

The author is a reggae enthusiast and clearly has a deep knowledge and awareness, derived as much from personal experience as systematic study, of how the music evolved in the clubs and discos of the British Midlands in the 1960s and 1970s.

The acceptance of Jamaican reggae in Britain was partial and, in one crucial respect, paradoxical. Unlike other black music (jazz, blues, rock) which often entered white musical consciousness through "eggheads," reggae was adopted by "skinheads" - white working class youth, often with racist attitudes and

behavior patterns derived from the football terraces rather than the drawing rooms of England. As Jones puts it: "The music's rough-and-ready qualities suited the aggressively proletarian sensibilities of skinhead style and culture, and stood in direct contradiction to the white rock music espoused by middle class youth ... [it was] rhythmic, spontaneous, unpretentious, supposedly 'crude' and unmistakably working-class in origin." (p. 90)

The results of the adoption of reggae by this section of white youth were ambivalent. On the positive side, the issue of racism was presented and confronted by many who previously had simply manifested unthinking anti-black attitudes. Organisations such as Rock against Racism and the Anti-Nazi League sponsored massive open-air concerts and criticised rock and pop stars who while living from black music, also displayed anti-black sentiments (a tradition anticipated by Al Jolson and Elvis Presley). "Two-tone" (multi-racial) bands like the Selecter, the Specials, the Beat and UB40 fused the rock and reggae traditions, explicitly drawing on the shared sense of exclusion from Thatcher's Britain sensed by white and blacks alike in the comprehensive schools and the back-to-back houses of the old industrial cities. The infectious dance-rhythms of two-tone gave the music a national appeal, but the bands were also explicit in driving home the political message - with songs like "Stand down Margaret" and "Madame Medusa" (both directed against the British Prime Minister), and "Burden of shame" (anti-apartheid). The name of the band UB40 was derived from the official form, Unemployment Benefit No. 40, that the jobless had to complete before the Welfare State responded.

On the other hand, the synthesis between Jamaican music and white working-class culture also produced negative outcomes. Black British youth, encouraged to enter white clubs for the first time, found themselves the butt of racial insults and violence. A particularly poignant example occurred in a South London club when the popular song "Young, gifted and Black" was thrown back at black youths' faces by skinheads who chanted "Young, gifted and White" (p. 92). Informal segregation or re-segregation of some clubs resulted from such interactions.

Jones is very good on his own ground and his ethnographic section on Birmingham (pp. 121-230) can be mined for insightful descriptions of the music, black-white social relationships and socio-linguistic evidence. Interestingly enough, he conducts his loosely-structured interviews with *white* youth - many of the comments of his respondents concentrating on the sense of unease, alienation and danger they felt when first finding themselves in a predominantly black club, record shop or party. Like all ethnographies, one gains in rich detail what one loses in representativeness. The author only interviewed 16 respondents over a three year (1982-85) period, but of course he did so in considerable detail.

Such intense observational studies have become something of a hallmark of the work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham, a tradition pioneered by Willis's (1977) study of working class educational and job opportunities. Unfortunately, the tradition also has its weaknesses, which are also apparent in Jones's book. Jones is innocent of sociological method, even qualitative methodology - so in effect his "ethnography" becomes long-winded journalism. Jones is also unreliable on the wider significance and context of his study. For example, he suggests (without citing any author) that "it is still widely assumed, throughout large areas of race relations research, that the African cultural heritage of Caribbean people's was completely destroyed by slavery and replaced by a 'weak,' 'unstable' and 'bastardised' form of the slave masters' culture" (p. xxvii). This self-serving characterisation of other researchers is constructed of straw: most cognate research that I have read starts with the well-known classic study of African retentions published by Herskovits in 1941. Though Jones cites it in the bibliography, there is no textual evidence that he has used it. Gaining street credibility in contemporary downtown Birmingham apparently demands that Herskovits's wheel is reinvented.

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Lost illusions: Caribbean minorities in Britain and the Netherlands. MALCOLM CROSS and HAN ENTZINGER (eds.). London: Routledge, 1988. 316 pp. (Cloth US\$ 52.20)

This is a welcome book dealing with the experiences of Caribbean minorities in Britain and the Netherlands. Most of the papers in the volume were originally presented at a conference held in Leiden in March 1985. However, the editors

have clearly encouraged the contributors to update their material to 1987 and have attempted to develop a theoretical framework in the process.

Unfortunately the effort to develop a unifying perspective does not seem to have worked very effectively. The reader is left with a broad range of studies which use disparate research sources and which must have presented the editors with a difficult task in making them fit together. The problems with such a task tend to be amplified in edited compilations. Thus, theoretical unity tends to be sacrificed in the process of producing necessary editorial compromises.

However, the editors are honest in admitting that the book raises important "comparative questions" which are not necessarily analysed fully in the papers presented. The problem is that, as a consequence, the book suffers from an imbalance with plenty of "theory" in the editor's introduction but a heavy bias towards straightforward empiricism in the majority of the individual contributions, in spite of the attempt to relate the chapters under headings which refer to the editorial overview.

The first part of the book, which groups six papers, deals with the "Patterns of incorporation" of migrants in Britain and the Netherlands. Hennessy covers the migration and settlement patterns of new arrivals in Britain between the 1950's and 1980's, while Oostindie studies West Indian immigration to the Netherlands during the same period. Most of the information in these chapters is factual and informative and there is some comparison with the position of blacks in the United States.

Oostindie's contribution is especially valuable in providing a concise and interesting account of the motivations of those who migrated to the Netherlands. We learn that they carried "illusions" that were to be shattered after their landing. Migrants from the Dutch colonies had developed an identification with the culture of the Netherlands and held Dutch education in high regard. In contrast to the economic motivations of immigrants into Britain, cultural and educational affinities provided the stimulus for immigration to the Netherlands. Oostindie views the educational and cultural "pull" of the Netherlands in the context of changing economic conditions which produced a subtle blending of economic considerations with other motivational factors. For example, he shows that in the 1960's and 1970's emigration from Suriname rapidly increased and that this was the result of a variety of economic and social factors. Unlike West Indian immigration to Britain, the flow to the Netherlands was not initially accompanied by any major governmental encouragement of immigration to fill labor shortages in particular industries. It was only in the late 1950's and 1960's that labor was recruited from Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles to work in industry and the health sector, but even then such recruitments were not seen to be very significant. This was especially so when West Indian recruitment was set beside the mass recruitment of workers from Mediterranean countries.

The articulate flow of Oostindie's analysis is regrettably cut short by editorial considerations of space. This reviewer would have liked to have seen Oostindie provided with more room to develop his analysis. However, Cross and Johnson logically follow with their study of the place of Afro-Caribbeans in the British labor-market. They claim that "the story is not unfamiliar." Indeed, in a rather dry but factually interesting account they underscore the relationship between governmental policies designed to overcome labor shortages and the desire of governments to allow immigration to partly alleviate those shortages. While the "story" is precisely told, Cross and Johnson are weak on the development of an adequate theoretical framework within which an explanation of the labor-market process may be seen in relation to immigration policies. Reubsaet, similarly, seems to be reluctant to explore uncharted theoretical waters, although like Cross and Johnson he makes some interesting points about labour mobility.

As with Oostindie, Cross, Johnson and Reubsaet are cut off prematurely in their discussions of key issues. This raises the question as to whether the book would have benefited by restricting the number of papers and developing the labor-market theme in more depth. Kenneth Lunn's (1985) edited volume dealing with race and labor in Britain effectively unifies a collection of seven papers which place different aspects of the experiences of immigrants within a labor-market context. Common points of reference are thus created despite the breadth of the subjects covered. Such unity, of course, may be regarded as desirable if a thematic work is the objective. The book under review admittedly has a less ambitious goal in that it is an attempt to present some initial questions for future research. Nevertheless, we are still presented with some difficult juxtapositions of papers under the chosen editorial headings.

This difficulty is well illustrated in the section on "Patterns of incorporation." Ratcliffe's perceptive account of Afro-Caribbean residence patterns in Britain and Klerk and Amersfoort's excellent analysis of Surinamese settlement in Amsterdam fit uneasily after Reubsaet's chapter on labor mobility. Ratcliffe's account is historical and wide-ranging, while Amersfoort's study of Amsterdam is more useful as a result of its detailed concentration upon one city. Unfortunately, since neither of these studies directly take-up the theoretical implications of the earlier chapters dealing with labor-market issues they could confuse the reader who may be searching for a clarification of the meaning of "incorporation."

Part two of the book, which deals with "Avenues of social mobility", is more successful in grouping papers with a common focus. Troyna first provides an analysis of the impact of the British educational system on the reproduction of racial inequality. There are some interesting insights into the attitudes of governments to the problems faced by minorities in the education system in Britain which hopefully could provide the focus for future research. Koot and

Venema follow with an insightful contribution covering the position of the Surinamese in the educational system in the Netherlands, concentrating upon their underachievement and the disturbing stereotyped negative expectations of teachers towards them.

Further papers develop the theme of social mobility by examining the experiences of minorities in the world of business. Ward looks at Caribbean business enterprise in Britain while Boissevain and Grotenbreg cover Surinamese enterprises in Amsterdam. The analysis of labor-markets in the first part of the book and the concern of the editors to allude to labor-market issues would seem to be especially relevant to the studies of minorities and business. Indeed, as the editors suggest, business may provide one way for minorities to overcome some of the disadvantages that they face in the labor-market and, in that way, open a path for them to achieve upward mobility in society in general.

This raises the question as to whether minorities can progress by extending their political influence. A chapter by FitzGerald examines the gradual improvement in the representation of minorities in Britain while Rath studies the mobilization of ethnicity in Dutch politics. In both Britain and the Netherlands it seems that minority groups are active in the political process, but as in other areas of society the barriers to their effective and equal incorporation are considerable.

This book seems to be especially timely in view of the rapid changes which are taking place in the economies of the West European countries and, in particular, in the European Community. It is important for future research to study the factors which are impacting upon immigrants and minorities in general in a Europe which is preparing for a single trading market by 1992. In addition, multinational corporations are increasingly shifting resources between countries, often in industries which employ large numbers of immigrant workers or "guest workers." For instance, this has meant that West Indian workers in Ford motor plants in Britain have been at the forefront in organizing labor protests which have often involved conflicts of interest with other European workers. The book reviewed here keeps clear of such wider issues, but this is understandable given the editorial brief. However, the comparative approach adopted in the work, which makes it a useful addition to the literature on West Indian migration to Europe, constantly prompted this reviewer to ponder the implications of such changes for West Indian migrants in a broader environment and in relation to other ethnic racial minorities.

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